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THE PEASANTS' RISING

AND

THE LOLLARDS

A COLLECTION OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS
FORMING AN APPENDIX TO
'ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF WYCLIFFE'

EDITED BY

EDGAR POWELL AND G. M. TREVELYAN

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PREFACE

In the Preface to the recently published volume 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,' the author expressed his intention of following up that work by the publication of such new materials as had been used in its construction. It was by Mr. Edgar Powell that he was first introduced to these materials, and by his assistance he now fulfils the promise of publication then made. It is hoped that these documents will bear out that part of 'England in the Age of Wycliffe' which was based upon their authority. But they also contain much interesting detail concerning incidents which were only casually mentioned in that work. Students engaged on the period, either from love of reading or from hope of writing, will find here both curious and important matter. The editors have here and there inserted references to direct search to other sources of information on the subjects in question, and have given, on page 18, a short list showing where documents relating to other trials of the rioters of 1381 have been printed, either wholly or in part.

It has been thought best, in order to avoid much repetition and mere legal phraseology, to give the documents here published in an abbreviated form except in cases where they are described as transcripts in full.

INTRODUCTION

THE first section of these documents (pp. 1–23) will be found to contain new matter relating, first, to the Peasants' Rising of 1381 (pp. 1–18), and, secondly, to other riots arising from similar discontents that disturbed the later years of Richard II (pp. 19–23).

The contemporary evidence about the actual events of the Peasants' Rising of 1381, as distinguished from its social causes, falls mainly under two heads, the chronicles and the official records of the trials of individual rioters. It is difficult to say which of these two sources is now the more important. If either of them were taken away, the history of the rising would be meagre and its real nature misunderstood. Only if we put the two together, piece by piece, and critically compare the one with the other in every point, do we gradually obtain a true and fully coloured picture of these 'old, unhappy, far-off things.' On the one hand the chronicles have the advantages that usually belong to historical documents written on purpose to inform future generations of the events that have occurred. It is in the chronicles that we find the clearest general account of the nature and characteristics of the rising as it appeared to contemporaries. It is from the chronicles that we gather the great strategic and moral importance of certain incidents of the rising, such as the series of events that took place in London between June 12 and 15.

It is, in fact, the chronicles that give us the main outlines of the story of the rebellion, and so enable us to

interpret the large amount of detailed information contained in the trials of the rioters.

This second class of documents, on the other hand, has many great advantages. These trials, in the first place, supply us with dates both accurate and numerous, while the chronicles are often wrong as to the days on which particular riots took place. In the story of the brief but fateful occupation of London by the rebels, the order of events and the days on which they occurred is of the first importance. It is, therefore, an extremely fortunate circumstance that while the chronicles contradict each other as to the days on which the proceedings in London took place, a final court of appeal is ready to hand in the trials of the rioters who took part in the occupation of the capital. Still more important, perhaps, are the dates of rioting in the several country districts, which the trials of the offenders alone supply to us. It is by these dates that it is possible to estimate the pace at which the rebellion spread through England, and the length of time during which it continued to break out afresh in the more distant provinces after it had been crushed at the centre.

But it is not as regards dates alone that the trials are more full and accurate than the chronicles. As regards area and locality they give far more detail.

All accounts of riots in small country places must be drawn from these trials; the chronicles confine themselves chiefly to the events in London or to the attacks on well-known abbeys and castles, while the trials, on the other hand, supply us with detailed and personal accounts of the events of that stormy summer in a number of remote villages and country towns. These are severally interesting to the local antiquarian, and collectively they enable us to form a judgment of the nature of the rising in the country districts, independent of the generalisations of the chronicles, which indeed they in some points correct. The trials have also considerably enlarged the known area of the rebellion. The chronicles leave it uncertain how far the rising spread beyond the eastern and home counties, but the trials give us details of riots in York, Doncaster, Bridge-

water, and villages in Leicestershire, Wiltshire, and the Wirral of Cheshire. Lastly, whereas the chronicles, except in a very few places, speak only of the actions of the mob as a whole, the trials more frequently give us the action of individual rioters, and often suggest the personal motives, as of revenge for private wrongs, that actuated a certain proportion of the ringleaders of a movement which nevertheless was, upon the whole, a national uprising to obtain common ends.

The documents on pp. 1–18 below are the latest addition to the publications of this important class of documents. The trials here printed have several new points of interest. In the first place another county, Cheshire (p. 13), has been added to the area of rebellion. Curiously enough it is the Wirral, the most remote portion of the county, the district seemingly furthest removed from the contagion of the eastern counties, that we find convulsed. It was towards the end of July, after the news of the suppression of the rioters in London had reached the district, and after letters from the king denouncing the rebellion had been read in the full shire court of Cheshire, that the serfs of the Abbot of Chester rose in the Wirral (p. 15). The abbeys were frequent victims of mob violence during this summer, as the tenure of the serfs on the estates of corporate bodies was generally more antiquated than the tenure of serfs on the estates of individual landlords. On p. 17 we find another abbey in Middlesex which can be added to the long list of religious houses attacked during the rebellion. The new series of Kent indictments (pp. 3–12), together with those printed by the Kent Archæological Society, form a rich source of information about the rising in Kent.

On pp. 19–23 will be found official records of charges against rioters, very similar to those of the year 1381. These records show that in localities the events of the great rising repeated themselves in the later years of Richard II. Of these later social disturbances the chronicles tell us nothing, and the trials are the sole evidence that they occurred. The riots of the year 1392 in the south Yorkshire towns are made specially interesting by the rebel song, which

is recorded at length in the accusation (p. 19). It ranks in the nature of its importance with those rebel songs of 1381, so redolent of the mystery and earnestness of 'Piers Plowman,' which we find recorded in the chronicles[1]; for, like them, this song of the Yorkshire rioters of 1392 opens a narrow window through which we gain a glance into the hearts and minds of those who rose in revolt, believing that 'the King's son of heaven should pay for all.' The Yorkshire song is not indeed so religious in sentiment as the song of the south country rebels, where John the Miller, who 'yground small, small, small,' bade 'John Trueman and all his fellows' 'do well and better and flee sin, and seek peace and hold therein,' as a preliminary to murder and rebellion; but it proves that many of the rioters of 1392 were not merely bent on plunder and arson, but were inspired by an ideal of independent manhood which could not tamely endure slavery and wrong. Every one interested in the ideals of those troublous times should study it as it stands on p. 19 below.

But the story of the resistance offered in 1398 by the peasantry of Wellington to the manorial dues of the Bishop of Bath and Wells is no less interesting (p. 21), for here the question at issue is clearer than the grievances of the Yorkshire rioters. This case is one of the best of several similar cases that show how, in the twenty years following the rising, feudal dues were still often refused, and the refusal backed by force. 'This attitude of resistance was an important factor in the economic causes which drove the landlord to manumit his serfs; if they worked unwillingly and rebelliously at the forced labour, the forced labour must soon be changed for paid service.'[2]

The work of collecting and printing documents relating to the Lollards is very much behind that of collecting and printing documents relating to the Peasants' Rising. Since the days of Foxe the martyrologist there has been little systematic attempt to collect and publish the documents

[1] Wals. II. 33–4, and Knighton, II. 139, Rolls Series. *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 203–4.

[2] *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 254–5. See also the cases in Suffolk, 1383 and 1385, Powell's *Rising in East Anglia*, pp. 64–5.

which would tell us the history of mediæval English protestantism, after the time when the personality of Wycliffe has disappeared from the scene. Section III of this book is a slight addition to this much-needed work, but it goes no further than the end of the reign of Richard II and has no pretensions whatever to being complete even for that brief period. The most interesting and suggestive part of this section is the story of the town of Northampton (pp. 45–50). This document, which happens to be an English translation, is indeed much the most entertaining in the book. Northampton appears, even in the fourteenth century, to have adopted a totally independent attitude in matters of religion. Some reference to the strange events that occurred in that town in 1392–3 has already been made in 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,' p. 318. But the reader can now study for himself in the original how 'the maior hath made the whole toune in manner to become Lollardes so that the whole toune is gouerned by them, no one daring gainsaie them for feare of theire liues. All ribauds infected with Lollardy, that come into the saide towne, are all courteously receiued & mainetayned as yf they were prophetts before all others.' And how 'the Viccar of the church, after theffertorie in the masse parochiell retourned to the aulter to singe his masse, whereuppon the said maior goeing to the said viccar at the aulter with greate indignation took him by the backe of his vestiment to cause him to retourne from his masse and to cease vntill the saide preacher had preached; which vicar answered "non possum."' The story should be read as it stands, for it is too good to spoil by paraphrases or abbreviations. The reader will be forcibly reminded by these proceedings in Northampton in 1392, of the spontaneous outbreak of popular protestantism which overthrew the Catholic Kirk in the Scotch towns in 1559.

Most of the other documents in this section illustrate the zeal and frequency with which Richard II issued royal writs for the suppression of the Lollards, in spite of the discouragement he received from the House of Commons, who refused to pass new statutes to assist persecution.[1] It

[1] *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 310–313 and p. 330.

is very curious that this king, the zealous knight of orthodoxy, was at one time actually regarded by historians as having been favourable to heresy.

Section II (pp. 27–38) contains documents relating to the trial of John of Northampton, Mayor of London from 1381 to 1383: he was the partisan of John of Gaunt against Richard II; he was the champion of the clothing trades and of the majority of Londoners, in their struggle against the economic privileges of the victualling trades and the grocers; he once headed a mob hostile to Church jurisdiction in a demonstration against the Bishops. Although some account of these events has been given in 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,'[1] a deep study of economic questions and political parties in London might bring to light some further clue to the rise and fall of John of Northampton. But the document printed on pp. 27–38 below will probably remain the principal authority on the subject. The student will bear in mind that the words are the words of Northampton's enemies, and that the case is only the case against him. Among the many eccentric actions by which he curried favour with the populace of London, one is specially interesting. He appears (p. 30) to have assisted through the action of his subordinates in the acquittal of the rebel aldermen who had let the peasants into London in June 1381. Sybyle and Horn certainly deserved to be hanged for the part they had played,[2] but that part had been pleasing to the apprentices and to the lower orders of the capital, and a popular mayor was not likely to show them great severity.

Section IV. (pp. 55–68) contains a list of some of the aliens holding Church preferment in England in the reign of Richard II. The number of these beneficed foreigners was one of the causes of complaint against the Church at this time.[3]

Section V (pp. 69–73) is a table which shows exactly the degree to which the personnel of the House of Commons was

[1] *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 278–282.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 227–9. Réville, pp. 190–9.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 119.

changed at every new parliament in the time of Richard II. The importance of this frequent change in the personnel of the House has been discussed in 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,' p. 73. It will be seen from the table on pp. 72–3 below, that whereas only eight old county members of the Good Parliament were returned for the packed parliament of January 1377, as many as twenty-three sat in the parliament of October 1377, which returned to the traditions established by the example of the great assembly of 1376.[1]

[1] For the conduct of these parliaments see *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 20–31, 37, and 73–74.

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Page 6, line 3, *for* June 28 *read* July 5
„ 6, „ 23, *for* June *read* July
„ 8, „ 16, *for* June 28 *read* July 5
„ 11, „ 22, *for* June 27 *read* July 4
„ 33, „ 20, *for* 17 *read* 18

55

Section I.

EXTRACTS AND TRANSCRIPTS OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO PEASANTS' RISING AND OTHER SOCIAL DISTURBANCES IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

55'

DOCUMENTS REFERRING TO THE PEASANTS' RISING 1381

KENT

Antient Indictments. No. 35

Hundred de Bernefelde. (Skin 1.)

Iurati ibidem dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Stephanus Holstokke de Northhyhame insurrexit contra dominum Regem in crastino Corporis Christi 4 Ric. II apud Combewell et . . . [gone] . . . prioris de Combewell et ipsum quoarcavit ibidem quousque unum equum pretii xl. s. . . . cum quadam cella deaurata pretii xx. s.

Hundred de Eyhorne. (Skin 2.)

Iurati dicunt etc. quod Iohannes Henle de Herietsham die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis [15 June] 4 Ric. II apud Heriettisham venit ad societatem malefactorum . . . et resurexit contra dominum Regem . . . et domum Iohannis Bromnyng apud Heriettisham felonice fregit eodem die et anno. Et dicunt quod Robertus Hemery de Lenham et Iohannes Mellere de Ulcombe resurexerunt contra dominum etc. apud Lenham die Mercurii proxima post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli [3 July] et fecerunt iurare diversos homines ut levarent contra dominum Regem etc., et arrestavere diversos victuales . . . ad valenciam tresdecem solidorum. Et dicunt quod Ric. Ropere de Berghestede apud Cantuariam die lune in crastino Sancte

Trinitatis [10 June] interfecit Iohannem Tebbe de Cantuaria. Item dicunt quod Will. Wrekok Taylor de Thornham furatus fuit 1 pelum de Thoma Fogge milite et 1 lavatorem argenti pretii c. solidorum apud Toneforde die Mercurii proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis anno ut supra [12 June].

Hundred de Wechilstone. (Skin 3.)

Iurati dicunt . . . quod Will. Burre de Brenchesle Rogerus Cotynge de Brenchesle et Iohannes Kippyng de Tonebregge iunior die Sabbati proxima ante festum Nativitatis Sancti Iohannis Bapt. [22 June] 4 Ric. II insurexerunt contra etc. et domum Nich. Merefeld apud Tonebregge et bona et catalla sua viz. pannos lineos vasa etc. ad valenciam c. solidorum succiderunt et in luto platearum conculcaverunt . . . et fuerunt manutentores insurectionis.

Hundred de Wrotham. (Skin 4.)

Inquisitores dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Benedictus Leveyng ville de Maplestompe Iohannes Sparwe ville de ffrennyngham Iohannes Donemawe del fforstall de Kyngesdone Iohannes Pound de eadem spontanea et mera voluntate sua adherebant diversis congregationibus etc. qui se levaverunt contra dominum Regem etc. et sic in societate eorum permanserunt continue a die Iovis proxima ante festum Sancte Trinitatis [6 June] 4 Ric. II usque ad presens et predicti Benedictus [and others] venerunt in villam de Northcraye die sabbati in vigiliis Trinitatis [8 June] et domum Nicholai Heryng . . . fregerunt et bona et catalla abduxerunt . . . et quod Peter Bresiere de Wrotham, Iohannes Bolyn, Ricardus Threshere, et Will. Taylor filius Petri Bresiere de eadem villa spontanea etc. adherebant diversis congregationibus [etc. as above].

Et quod Paul Betell de Compe in crastino Corporis Christi venit London et ibidem quendam hominem mactavit cum baculo. Et quod Iohannes Pound venit London die et anno predictis et ibidem quendam hominem de nacione fflandrense mactavit felonice. Et quod Iohannes Bolyne et

Ric. Threshere cum conventicula sua die Mercurii ante festum Translationis Sancti Thome Mart. [3 July] apud Cokheshethe . . . insultum fecere Willelmo atte Hothe et ad eum cum suis sagittis sagittaverunt.

Et predictus Iohannes Bolyne in festo sancte Trinitatis [9 June] venit in villam de Chalke . . . et unum equum Richardi Pope abduxerunt [*sic*] pretii xiij. s. iiij. d.

Willelmus Skele et Nicholas Hakborne et quamplures de predicta societate miserunt ad domum Iacobi de Pecham apud Wrotham et ipsum imprisonaverunt inminando ipsum de vita et membris [etc.] quousque Iacobus concesserit prefatis Willelmo et Nicholao iiii^{xx} acras terre vii acras prati de quibus idem Iacobus prius tulit quemdam assisam nove disseisine coram Roberto Belknapp et aliis Iusticiariis domini Regis. Et dicunt quod Petrus Hwetegrom levavit per se et alios diversas congregationes etc.

Hundred de Brenchesle. (Skin 5.)

Iurati dicunt quod Iohannes Sodegrom spontanea et mera voluntate sua adherebat . . . conventiculis . . . et sic in societate eorum permansit a die Iovis proxima ante festum Sancte Trinitatis [6 June] usque ad presens.

Et quod idem Iohannes die veneris proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis [14 June] et quamplures de predicta societate venerunt in villam de Brenchesle et domum Willelmi Wylle prostraverunt et bona sua abduxerunt.

Et quod Willelmus Burre Iohannes Burre iunior Iohannes Burre senior Robertus Ide Nicholas Burre Thos. Burre Bocher de parochia de Brenchesle die Sabbati proxima post festum Trinitatis [15 June] proclamatione facta quod quilibet domum reddierit in pace, venerunt in villam de Tonbregge cum magna conventicula et domum Nicholai Merefeld fregerunt et die dominica proxima [June 16] venerunt in villam de Brenchesle et ibidem prisonam fregere . . . Et dicunt quod Willelmus Poule ville de Brenchesle fecit minas in excitando ad diversas congregationes levandas etc. die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Petri et Pauli [30 June].

Hundred de Merdenne. (Skin 6.)

Inquisitio capta apud Maydestane die veneris proxima ante festum Translationis Sancti Thome Martyr. [28 June] coram Thoma Holand comite Kancie & sociis suis [Jury names given] qui dicunt quod Iohannes Gernays de Goutherst die lune proxima ante festum Sancti Iohannis Bapt. [17 June] 4 Ric. II cum aliis malefactoribus venit in parochia de Merdenne . . . et fecit levationes et posuit in seisina Iohannam relictam Martini Sherreve in unum Messuagium.

Item dicunt quod Iohannes Onewyne de Melkhouse die lune proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis [10 June] apud Apuldre domos Willelmi Horne cum aliis ignotis prostraverunt.

Item quod Robertus Elmestede Thos. Cottegore et Henricus Elmestede die Martis proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis [11 June] domos Rectoris de Stapelherst prostraverunt . . .

Item dicunt quod Stephanus clerk de Lynton in festo Corporis Christi [13 June] manerium de Savoye cum aliis malefactoribus combussit.

Hundred de Rouchestre. (Skin 7.)

Inquisitio capta die Iovis proxima ante festum Translationis Sancti Thome Mart. [4 June] anno regni 5 Ric. II. coram Thoma Holand comite Kancie . . . [Jury with names given] qui dicunt . . . quod Elias Reyner de Strode Esceator domini Regis in Com. Kancie tradidit evidencias escaetrie sue et hundredi de Middletone Ricardo Poser de Rouchestre postea venit Iohannes Bawdry de Snodelonde et alii ignoti felonice ceperunt et concremaverunt apud Rouchestre in festo Sancte Trinitatis 4 Ric. II [9 June]. Item quod Stephanus Hosteller de Derteford Will. Hosteller serviens Iohannis Sharp de Derteford Will. Threshere Thos. Osbarn de Strode . . . fecerunt levationes etc. . . . apud Derteford die Iovis in Septimana Pentecosten [6 June] contra dominum Regem etc. . . . et domum Will. Topchyne apud Maydestone prostraverunt die veneris tunc proxima sequente [7 June] et omnes evidencias eiusdem Willelmi combusserunt

eodem die. Item dicunt quod Willelmus atte Broke de Chetham iunior et Hugo Walshman in festo Sancte Trinitatis cum aliis domum Iohannis Glovere apud Rouchestre prostraverunt. Item dicunt quod Thomas serviens Iohannis Shereday de Strode Ricardus Babere serviens Will. Hose [and others] fecerunt levationes apud Rouchestre in festo Sancte Trinitatis [9 June] et domum Nicholai Heryng apud Rouchestre . . . prostraverunt et domos Thome Seyntalbon eodem die apud Frendesbury prostraverunt. Item dicunt quod Petrus Fraunceys de Rouchestre die lune proxima post festum Trinitatis [10 June] apud Bordenne domum Iohannis Godwot prostravit et certas evidencias ibidem felonice combussit etc. Item dicunt quod Ricardus Bocher de Rouchestre die Mercurii proxima ante festum Corporis Christi [12 June] inter villam de Depeford et civitatem Londini insultum fecit Episcopo Roffensi et refrenavit equum suum contra pacem.

Hundred de Litelfeld. (Skin 8.)

Inquisitio capta apud Maydestane die veneris proxima ante festum Translationis St. Thos. Mart. [5 July] . . . coram Thoma Holand . . . [Jury names given] qui dicunt quod Will. Holdenne de Shybourne senr. Will. Hendyman de Shybourne Will. Wardon de Lamberherst Iohannes Smith de Wrotham et Bartholomaus Kyriell de Woteryngbury nocte diei Sabbati proxima post festum Corporis Christi [15 June] . . . fecerunt levationes apud Tonbregge et cum aliis malefactoribus intraverunt in castrum de Tonbregge ad querendum Nicholaum Heryng et Iohannem Rampton eos ad interficiendos et eadem nocte intraverunt et fregerunt parcum vocatum posterne. Item quod Ric. Roger de Pekham die Sabbati proxima post festum Corporis Christi [15 June] cum aliis intravit in parcum vocatum posterne et ibidem fregit hostium domus Comitis Stafford vocatum Logge.

Item dicunt quod Nich. Burre de Brenchesle Iohannes Herry Iohannes Bur frater Nicholai Bur Iohannes Kypping de Tonebregge et Iohannes Chynyntone die Sabbati proxima post festum Corporis Christi [15 June] apud Tonbregge fecerunt levationes et unum par de Stokkes fregerunt, et eodem die

et anno fregerunt Stokkes domini Regis in hundredo de Wecchelstone, et iidem malefactores fregerunt domos Nicholai Merefeld in Tonbregge simul cum Philippo Brewere et Henrico Deye de Tonbregge. Dicunt quod Willelmus atte Lake de Capele et Iohannes Cook de Capele die veneris proxima post festum Corporis Christi [14 June] apud London combusserunt domum Sancti Iohannis et certas evidencias et manerium de Savoye contra dominum Regem etc.

Inquisitio de Iohanne Gillot de Deptford. (Skin 9.)

Robertus Man cognovit quod cepit episcopum per totam cantuariam [These last three words were probably meant to be erased, as *cantuariam* certainly is] apud la Tour in Shepeye.

Hundred of Hoo. (Skin 10.)

Inquisitio capta apud Maydestane die Veneris proxima ante festum Sancti Thome Mart. [28 June] coram Thoma Holand comite Kancie [Jury with names given].

Iurati dicunt quod Iohannes Foxgrove de Stoke et Rogerus Plomer in festo Corporis Christi [13 June] cum aliis . . . apud Savoye asportaverunt certas armuras pro tubiis et eodem die concremaverunt manerium de Savoye.

Hundred de Middeton in Insula de Schepye. (Skin 11.)

Dicunt quod Walterus Lansle et Iohannes Elys cum quindecem aliis . . . die Sancti Barnabe apostoli [11 June] apud Reyhame in Sheppeye ceperunt ij boves xxvij multones xj quarterios ffrumenti cccc iiij^{xx} xj vellera lanea et alia ad valenciam xxiiij. li. de Nicholai Heryng.

Et quod Will. Ryderwyk eodem die venit ad domum Agnete Mellere apud Menstre in Shepeye et eam minasset . . . ut faceret aquitanciam de xxxij. s. quos Willelmus prefate Agnete debitor fuit.

Indictamenta capta apud Maidestane. (Skin 12.)

Inquisitio capta coram Thoma Holand apud Maidenstane die Iovis proxima post festum sanctorum apostolorum Petri et

Pauli anno 5 Ric. II [4 July]. [Jury, names given.] Qui dicunt quod Hugo Moneye de Thorneham die veneris in Septimana Pentecosten anno iiij [7 June] venit ad domum Will. Topchyne in Maidenstane . . . et catalla asportavit ad val. x. li.

Item quod Robertus Glover de Strode . . . burgavit edificia ipsius Willelmi die et anno supradictis et unum Hawbericum 1 target 1 lanceam 1 arcum ij garbas sagittarum asportavit.

Item dicunt quod Iohannes Breme de comitatu Bedeford manens in Maidenstane . . . burgavit edificia predicti Willi. et Nichi. Heryng apud Fotescraye die Sabb. proxima sequente [8 June]. Et quod Andr. Poyntel et Will. Taborer de Maidenstane burgavit edificia predictorum Willelmi et Nicholai.

Item quod Iohannes [. . . ?] de Stokeby skynner fuit comunis manutentor malefactorum et minavit Thomam Holte subvicecomitem Kancie quousque sacramentum suum domino regi illius comitatus prestitit.

Item dicunt quod Iohannes Barbur de Newenton in crastino Sancte Trinitatis intravit domum Thome Holt apud Cantuariam et burgavit bona et catalla etc. . . .

Item dicunt quod Iohannes Newhows de Therneham die lune in crastino Sancte Trinitatis [10 June] burgavit domum Henrici Semonor de Boiton juxta Ospringe et quod Robertus Baker de Derteford die veneris et Sabbati in Septimana Pentecosten fuit perturbator pacis . . . et coegit homines de Maidenstane burgare edificia Willelmi Topchyne et Nicholai Heryng.

[This skin is in a bad state, but it appears from it that John Tebbe was killed in Canterbury, and that the gaol in Maidstone was broken on June 11. The last entry says that Walter Tyler of Colchester, John . . . el of Dartford, John Hales, Wm. Apoldre of Mally . . . and . . . Henek were the first disturbers of the peace.]

Hundred of Larkefelde. (Skin 13.) Billa vera.

Inquisitio pro rege—si Iohannes Gibben de Maideston et Robt. Cosyn . . . insurrexerunt . . . a die Iovis proxima

ante festum Corporis Christi. Et si Robertus cum aliis in vigiliis Trinitatis Thomam Trenet Chivaler in villa de Est Mallyng cepit et eum iurare fecerunt contra voluntatem suam.

(Skin 14.)

Tenentes abbatisse de Mallyng.

Hundred de Larkefeld. (Skin 15.)

Concerned with attacks on houses of W. Topchyne and Nich. Heryng; also—Iurati dicunt quod Iohannes Spernal de Mallyng in vigiliis Sancte Trinitatis super Montem de longefeld bercarium Willelmi Pour cum sagitta sua interfecit . . . Et Iohannes Spenser Alan Thresher Iohannes Webbe de Est Mallyng et alii insurexerunt etc. et cogerunt Abbatissam de Mallyng relaxare eis et aliis tenentibus certa servicia.

(Skin 16.)

Nothing of interest.

Hundred of Tottyngtrow. (Skin 17.)

Et dicunt quod Thos. ate Sole ville de Gravesend se cognovit esse infra cameram domini Regis in Turri London in crastino Corporis Christi et cum gladio suo lectum domini Regis fincit dicente pro seductoribus ibidem invenientibus sic Thom. Heryng et aliis et quod Iohannes Rous se abscondit quia quod esset in quadam bargia Archiepiscopi Cantuarie die veneris proxima post festum Corporis Christi et quod Iohannes Henry Ricardus Newman et alii capti fuerunt in prisona Neugate.

Hundred of Maidestan. (Skin 18.)

Inquisitio capta apud Maydestane coram domino Thoma Holand etc. quarto die Iulij. [Jury names given.] Qui dicunt quod Robertus Senyng et Simon Bolle de Lynton insurexerunt et venerunt ad domum Iohannis Mayster de Lodelynton in Maydestane vicesimo die Iunii et minabantur de ruina domorum . . . nisi dictus Iohannes eidem Robt° xiij acras

terre in Lynton voc. le Skaurie liberarit, ita quod . . . dictus Iohannes proprias domos reliquit per unam septimanam.

Item quod Will^us^ Meryham de Goutherst venit in Lose xxvj Iunii et voluit amputasse caput Thome Smyth de Lose nisi Thomas finiret cum dicto Will^o^ de xiij. s. iiij. d. quos Will^o^ solvit . . .

Hundred de Schamele. (Skin 19.)

Inquisitio capta apud Maydestane die Iovis proxima ante festum Translationis sancti Thome Martyr. anno 5 Ric. II [4 July] coram domino Thoma Holand.

[Jury names given.] Qui dicunt quod Matheus Delhan de ffrendesbury et Adam atte Rede in festo Trinitatis apud ffrendesbury domos Thome Seyntalbon prostraverunt . . .

Item dicunt quod Rogerus Boye de Ithham apud London die Veneris proxima post festum Corporis Christi [14 June] interfecit tres fflemynges . . .

Item quod Iohannes Bery de Southflete die lune proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis [10 June] apud Borden Iohannem Godwot interfecit.

Hundred de Middelton. (Skin 20.) [Stained—damaged.]

Inquisitio capta apud Maidestane die Iovis proxima ante festum translationis sancti Thome Martyr. [27 June].

[It appears from this that John Tebbe was slain on June 10 at Canterbury by John Smith, jun., of Canterbury, and others ; also that there was robbery at the house of Thos. Fogge, at Toneford, on Tuesday (either before or after—*ante* or *post*?) Trin. Sunday.]

Item dicunt quod Michael . . . de Middeton et Willelmus Prentis de Newynton domos Iohannis Sokelyng Simonis Haye Iohannis Catesby Iohannis Tebbe et Thome Garwynton fregerunt predicto die lune [10 June] et postmodum ad interfectionem Archiepiscopi Cantuarie et Roberti Hales prioris S. Iohannis Ierosolyme in Anglia procuraverunt etc.

Item dicunt quod cum Arnaldus Savage ad London accessisset pro adiutorio et remedio a rege petendo pro resist . . . [illeg. about two or three words] . . . et rebellionum insurgencium contra pacem domini Regis quidam Iohannes Ock

de Halghesto ut manutentor insurexionis aperte predictum Arnaldum de mutilacione membrorum et de incendio domorum suarum cominatus fuit.

Skins 21, 22.

Lists of Jurors for the Hundreds of Middelton and Twyferde.

Hundred de Twyforde. (Skin 23.)

Inquisitio capta apud Maydestane die Iovis proxima ante festum Translationis sancti Thome Martiris 5 Ric. II.

[Jury names given.] Qui dicunt quod Iohannes Boox de Est Mallyng in festo Sancte Trinitatis [9 June] apud Rouchestre Iohannem Glovere interfecit.

Item dicunt quod Laur. Threshere de Merdonne die Iovis in festo Corporis Christi [13 June] apud Ealdynge fecit proclamationes levationes et congregationes.

Item dicunt quod Ricardus Gomelydene de Com. Sussex die veneris proxima post festum Corporis Christi [14 June] cum aliis ignotis de Com. Sussex venit ad villam de Ealdynge et domos Roberti Sandherst prostraverunt et bona et catalla ad valentiam centum librarum asportaverunt.

Hundred de Chatham et Gilingham. (Skin 24.)

Iurati dicunt quod Will[s] filius Ricardi atte Broke de Chatham decollavit Iohannem Charlet in Festo sancte Trinitatis [9 June]. Et quod Willelmus Drew de Chatham fregit domum sancti Iohannis apud Clerkenwell [14 June] die veneris proxima post festum Trinitatis.

Item dicunt quod Thomas Berghestede de Gillyngham et Iohannes Wyse de Mercham fecerunt in principio populum de Gillyngham surgere dicendo et minando populum quod nisi venerunt cum iisdem voluerunt eos decollare die veneris ante festum Trinitatis [7 June] et postea.

Skin 25.

List of Jurymen for Chatham and Gillingham.

END OF BUNDLE.

CHESTER INDICTMENT ROLL

No. 8. *M.* 57. (*Transcript in full.*)

De die Martis proxima post festum Sancte Margarete Virginis anno quinto. [23 July 1381.]

Dominus Rex misit literas suas patentes in hec verba. Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Iusticiariis et camerariis suis Cestrie ac universis et singulis comitibus baronibus militibus vicecomitibus maioribus balliuis ministris et aliis fidelibus suis in Comitatu Cestrie salutem Quia datum est nobis inteligi quod diuersi subditi nostri qui contra pacem nostram et in turbacionem populi nostri in diuersis comitatibus regni nostri Anglie se leuaverunt et in diuersis conuenticulis et congregationibus se posuerunt dampna plurima fidelibus nostris perpetrando populo nostro comitatuum predictorum dant inteligi et affirmant se dictas congregationes et leuaciones ex nostris autoritate et voluntate fecisse et facere ac dicta dampna perpetrare Vobis innotescimus per presentes quod huiusmodi leuaciones congregaciones et dampna ex nostra voluntate seu autoritate minime processerunt prout nec procedere et fieri debent set inde quantum plus potest nobis displicet in immensum et ea in nostri maximum vituperacionem et corone preiudicium et totius regni nostri dampnum et turbacionem redundare sentimus.

Et ideo vobis et omnibus vestrum iniungimus et mandamus quod hec in locis ubi melius et celerius pro pace nostra in hac parte conseruanda vobis videbitur faciendo publice proclamari et pro resistencia quorumcunque contra pacem nostram ut predictum est leuancium manu forti et cum toto posse vestro si necesse fuerit taliter ordinari facere

defectu huiusmodi proclamationis et resistencie
l mala aliqua in comitatibus predictis per huius-
regaciones et leuaciones vel alio modo minime
rpetrentur. Et hoc sub forisfactura omnium que
acere poteritis nullatenus omitatis precipientes
singulis legeis subditis nostris quod ab huius-
egacionibus leuacionibus et dampnis penitus se
et in pace morentur sub forisfactura vite et
m et omnium aliorum que nobis forisfacere poterint
pso apud London xviij die Iunii anno regni mei
3 June 1381]. Virtute quarum literarum procla-
ta fuit in pleno comitatu Cestrie die Martis proxima
um Sancte Margarete virginis anno regni domini
nc quinto iuxta tenorem vim et effectum literarum
rum et similiter pro maiore securitate pacis domini
conseruanda preceptum fuit balliuis hundredi de
e in hec verba. Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie et
e Dominus Hibernie balliuis et vicecomitibus hundredi
rhale salutem Quia ex testimonio fide dignorum ac-
us quod non nulli de natiuis dilecti nobis in Christo
tis Cestrie in balliua vestra certas fecerunt congrega-
s et conuenticulos secretas in nemoribus et aliis locis
tis infra hundredum predictum et certa consilia priuata
contra proclamacionem nostram in hac parte nuper
m tenuerunt ac diuersas denariorum taxaciones inter se
ributorias certis hominibus de balliua vestra pro eorum
ilio et manutenencia habendis in diuersis querelis et
ulis versus ipsum abbatem per natiuos suos predictos
te propositis concesserunt. Vobis precipimus firmiter
ngentes quod in locis in balliua vestra ubi melius
dire videritis publice proclamari faciatis quod omnes
inguli in eadem balliua vestra commorantes cuius-
que status seu condicionis fuerint ab huiusmodi
regacionibus penitus se abstineant et in pace moren-
et quod nullus eorum aliquas taxationes misas seu
ibuciones pecuniarias quascunque per se seu alio in
s querelis et articulis illicitis manutenere alicui de
o nostro conserat seu quouismodo concedat sub foris-
a vite membrorum et omnium que penes nos forisfacere

aliquis sub eadem pena huiusmodi subsidia quecumque pro tali manutenencia in hac recumque impendenda recipere presumat. Et preceptum nostrum fueritis excuti scire nobis accario nostro Cestrie hac instandi die sabbati hoc breue nobis remittentes et hoc sub pena librarum nobis incurrendi nullatenus ommittatis Cestriam primo die Septembris anno regni [1 Sept. 1381].

mercurii proxima ante festum Sancti Michaelis Regis nunc quinto coram Iohanne de la Pole Cestrie apud Cestriam Nicholaus le Bruyn Heth Philipus de Prestland Dauid de Eggeley Cotegreue Robertus filius Roberti de Neuton Hulfeld Ughtred de Huxlegh Philipus Fylkyn Hokenhull Hugo de Malpas Robertus de Belewe super sacramentum suum quod in pleno comitatu Cestrie tento apud Cestriam die Martis proxima post festum Sancte Margarete virginis anno regni domini Regis nunc quinto [23 July 1381] et infra ciuitatem Cestrie die sabbati tunc proxima sequente et etiam die dominica tunc proxima sequente apud ecclesiam parochialem de Estham littere domini Regis predicte lecte fuerunt et proclamatio publice in locis predictis facta fuit in omnibus iuxta tenorem et effectum mandatorum domini Regis predictorum. Et dicunt quod die lune tunc proxime sequente Hugo Heruy Thomas Payn Robertus Huggesson de parua Sutton Willelmus le Renemogh Willelmus Brown Willelmus Haynesson Henricus Russell Ricardus de Coton Adam del leghes Robertus filius Iohannis de Ouerpulle Iohannes de Renesson Ricardus de Sutton Robertus le Gardiner de Upton Thomas filius Iohannis de Wirnyn Willelmus del lee de Neuton et Robertus de leghes de Whiteby natiui abbatis Cestrie ut de iure ecclesie sue Sancte Werburge Cestrie simul cum aliis natiuis eiusdem abbatis vi et armis leuauerunt et apud le lee iuxta Bacford in hundredo de Wirhale se congregauerunt contra proclamacionem et tenorem literarum predictarum in contemptum domini Regis et affraiam et perturbacionem pacis sue

quod pro defectu huiusmodi proclamationis et resistencie dampna vel mala aliqua in comitatibus predictis per huiusmodi congregaciones et leuaciones vel alio modo minime fiant seu perpetrentur. Et hoc sub forisfactura omnium que nobis forisfacere poteritis nullatenus omitatis precipientes uniuersis et singulis legeis subditis nostris quod ab huiusmodi congregacionibus leuacionibus et dampnis penitus se abstineant et in pace morentur sub forisfactura vite et membrorum et omnium aliorum que nobis forisfacere poterint Teste me ipso apud London xviij die Iunii anno regni mei quarto [18 June 1381]. Virtute quarum literarum proclamatio facta fuit in pleno comitatu Cestrie die Martis proxima post festum Sancte Margarete virginis anno regni domini Regis nunc quinto iuxta tenorem vim et effectum literarum predictarum et similiter pro maiore securitate pacis domini Regis conseruanda preceptum fuit balliuis hundredi de Wirhale in hec verba. Ricardus dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie Dominus Hibernie balliuis et vicecomitibus hundredi de Wirhale salutem Quia ex testimonio fide dignorum accepimus quod non nulli de natiuis dilecti nobis in Christo Abbatis Cestrie in balliua vestra certas fecerunt congregationes et conuenticulos secretas in nemoribus et aliis locis priuatis infra hundredum predictum et certa consilia priuata inibi contra proclamacionem nostram in hac parte nuper factam tenuerunt ac diuersas denariorum taxaciones inter se contributorias certis hominibus de balliua vestra pro eorum consilio et manutenencia habendis in diuersis querelis et articulis versus ipsum abbatem per natiuos suos predictos illicite propositis concesserunt. Vobis precipimus firmiter iniungentes quod in locis in balliua vestra ubi melius expedire videritis publice proclamari faciatis quod omnes et singuli in eadem balliua vestra commorantes cuiuscunque status seu condicionis fuerint ab huiusmodi congregacionibus penitus se abstineant et in pace morentur et quod nullus eorum aliquas taxationes misas seu contribuciones pecuniarias quascunque per se seu alio in talibus querelis et articulis illicitis manutenere alicui de populo nostro conserat seu quouismodo concedat sub forisfactura vite membrorum et omnium que penes nos forisfacere

poterit nec aliquis sub eadem pena huiusmodi subsidia dona vel regarda quecumque pro tali manutenencia in hac parte qualitercumque impendenda recipere presumat. Et qualiter hoc preceptum nostrum fueritis excuti scire nobis faciatis in scaccario nostro Cestrie hac instandi die sabbati proxima futura hoc breue nobis remittentes et hoc sub pena quadraginta librarum nobis incurrendi nullatenus ommittatis datum apud Cestriam primo die Septembris anno regni nostri quinto [1 Sept. 1381].

Postea die mercurii proxima ante festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis nunc quinto coram Iohanne de la Pole Iusticiario Cestrie apud Cestriam Nicholaus le Bruyn Ricardus del Heth Philipus de Prestland Dauid de Eggeley Radulphi de Cotegreue Robertus filius Roberti de Neuton Rogerus de Hulfeld Ughtred de Huxlegh Philipus Fylkyn Rogerus de Hokenhull Hugo de Malpas Robertus de Belewe iurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod in pleno comitatu Cestrie tento apud Cestriam die Martis proxima post festum Sancte Margarete virginis anno regni domini Regis nunc quinto [23 July 1381] et infra ciuitatem Cestrie die sabbati tunc proxima sequente et etiam die dominica tunc proxima sequente apud ecclesiam parochialem de Estham littere domini Regis predicte lecte fuerunt et proclamatio publice in locis predictis facta fuit in omnibus iuxta tenorem et effectum mandatorum domini Regis predictorum. Et dicunt quod die lune tunc proxime sequente Hugo Heruy Thomas Payn Robertus Huggesson de parua Sutton Willelmus le Renemogh Willelmus Brown Willelmus Haynesson Henricus Russell Ricardus de Coton Adam del leghes Robertus filius Iohannis de Ouerpulle Iohannes de Renesson Ricardus de Sutton Robertus le Gardiner de Upton Thomas filius Iohannis de Wirnyn Willelmus del lee de Neuton et Robertus de leghes de Whiteby natiui abbatis Cestrie ut de iure ecclesie sue Sancte Werburge Cestrie simul cum aliis natiuis eiusdem abbatis vi et armis leuauerunt et apud le lee iuxta Bacford in hundredo de Wirhale se congregauerunt contra proclamacionem et tenorem literarum predictarum in contemptum domini Regis et affraiam et perturbacionem pacis sue

manifestum et terrorem populi sui tam ciuitatis Cestrie quam totius comitatus predicti et ad nullacionem et destruccionem predicti abbatis et conuentus sui ac bonorum et catallorum domus et ecclesie sue predicte. Ideo ipsi capiantur etc. Et postea predictus Hugo Heruy et alii per vicecomitem capti comittuntur constabulario Castri Cestrie etc. Et postea die lune proxima ante festum Sancti Dionisii anno regni eiusdem domini Regis Anglie quinto predicti Hugo Heruy Thos. Payn et omnes alii natiui predicti traduntur in ballium Hugoni del Clif de Thornton Henrico del lee Henrico Drake Nicholao Maykynsson Iohanni le Clerk Henrico Hawesson Ricardo de Norley Ricardo le Taillor Simoni Burgeys Ade Sturche Ricardo le Spencer de Hoton Howell le Walshman de Sutton Ricardo de Orell Iohanni filio Roberti de Salghton Ricardo Bouell Iohanni de Laghton de Cestrie Reginaldo del Clif David de Scanay et Willelmo de Neuton qui manuceperunt pro predictis natiuis habendis corpora eorum hic ad proximum comitatum et interim de pace ferenda omnibus hominibus comitatus predicte videlicet quilibet eorum corpus pro corpore et sub pena quadraginta librarum et iidem Hugo del Clif et alii manucapientes recognouerunt se et quemlibet eorum in solido debere domino Regi predictas xl. li. solutum ad scaccarium suum Cestrie una cum corporibus suis essendis ad voluntatem domini Regis predicti si contingat predictos natiuos vel aliquem eorum maliciose se retrahere aut quicquam contra pacem Regis medio tempore facere Ideo predictus constabularius a custodia predictorum natiuorum usque predictum comitatum quietus et exoneratus.

MIDDLESEX

Coram Rege Roll 483. *Rex* 8 *d.*

Robertus Hull Shipman de London die veneris proxima post festum Corporis Christi [14 June 4 Ric. II] cum aliis insurrectoribus hominum Com. Essexie et Kancie cum vexillo aperto intravit abbathiam de Grace in Com. Middx. et cogerunt Abbatem mittere unum monachum cum eis ad London ad seisinam dandam in diversis tenementis dictorum Abbathie et Conventus. [Hull pleads pardon granted by King 10 Jan. 5 Ric. II, and goes free.] Middlesexia.

SURREY

Coram Rege 483. *Rex* 26.

Iohannes Hermare et Nicholaus Gromond de Haueryng atte Boure capti fuerunt apud Guldeford pro eo quod ijdem Iohannes et Nicholaus die dominica proxima post festum Corporis Christi insurrexerunt cum magna multitudine gencium de Comitatu Essexie et venerunt ad domum Willelmi West apud Clendon et ibidem pro timore ipsorum et sociorum suorum apud Kyngeston prout dixerunt essencium fecerunt predictum Willelmum facere predicto Iohanni quandam obligationem viginti librarum sterlingorum sub condicione quod solueret predicto Iohanni decem libras in festo Sancti Petri Advincula et pro eo quod testificatum est in patria quod predicti Iohannes et Nicholaus recognoverunt in presencia multorum tam apud Clendon quam apud Guldeford quod ipsi fuerunt primi qui insurrexerunt in Com. Essexie et quod fuerunt primi qui venerunt ad la Savoye ibidem fregerunt dolia vini et alia mala fecerunt et causa predicta in gaola de Guldeford detenti fuerunt. Essexia.

Dicunt quod Rex pardonavit eis sectam pacis per literas suas patentes . . . eant sine die.

It may be well here to direct attention to some other sources of information bearing on the Peasants' Rising.

1st. To a chronicle in French among the Stowe MSS. (1047, fol. 64 b) in the British Museum, which has been printed in the 'English Historical Review,' vol. xiii. p. 509. This MS. throws much light on the proceedings in London, and forms a valuable supplement to the accounts given by Froissart and in the chronicles printed in the well-known 'Rolls Series.'

2nd. To the following records of trials of the rioters :—

District	MS. References	Where printed, wholly or in part
Norfolk . . .	Ant. Indictments, No. 128, P.R.O.	Powell's 'Rising in East Anglia'
Suffolk . . .	Do. do.	Do. do.
Essex . . .	Do. do.	'Essex Arch.' New Series, vol. i. p. 214
Cambridgeshire .	Assize Roll 103, P.R.O.	'East Anglian,' New Series, vol. vi. p. 81, etc.; Powell's 'Rising in East Anglia'
Kent. . . .	Assize Roll 400, P.R.O.	'Arch. Cant.' vol. iii. 65; iv. 67
London, Eastern, Western and Northern Counties, and various . . .	Documents in P.R.O. as cited.	'Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381'; Réville, 1898

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SOCIAL DISTURBANCES IN THE LATER YEARS OF RICHARD II.

YORKSHIRE

Antient Indictments, No. 116, *M.* 11.

EBOR. MAGNA INQUISITIO.

Et dicunt quod predicti Iohannes Berwald iunior de Cotyngham et alii fecerunt quandam rimam in Anglicis verbis et dictam rimam apud Beverle publice proclamari fecerunt die dominica proxima ante festum sancti Jacobi apostoli et apud Hull die dominica tunc proxima sequente et in aliis diversis locis infra Com. Ebor per diversas vices anno regni Ric. II 16 [1392] que quidem rima sequitur in hec verba: 1392.

In the contre herd was we
That in our soken schrewes shuld be] with al for to bake
Among this ffrers it is so
And other ordres many mo] whether thei slepe or wake
And thet wil ilkan hel up other
And meynten him als his brother] bothe in wrong and right
And so wil we in stond and stoure
Meynten our negheboure] with al our myght
Ilk man may come and goo
Among vs both to and froo] I say you sikerly
But hethyng wil we suffre non
Neither of hobbe ne of Johan] with what man he be

Ffor vnkynde we ware
Yif we suffird of lesse or mare] any vilans hethyng [1]
But it were quit double agayn
And a corde and be ful fayn] to byde our dressyng
And on that purpose yet we stand
Who so do vs any wrang] in what plas it fall
Thet he might als wel
Als have j hap and sel] do a geyn vs all

Antient Indictments, No. 116, *Yorks.*

1392. Item presentant quod predictus Robertus de ffer Thomas Balne de Staynford [and others] simul cum trecentis aliis malefactoribus de dominico de Hatfeld . . . die Sabbati proxima ante festum Nativitatis beate Marie Virginis Ric. II 15 vi et armis . . . de novo insurrexerunt . . . in Doncastre in medio et publico mercato coram alta cruce ville . . . publice proclamari fecerunt in hac forma et in his verbis: We cry and comande on the Kynges be halue of Ingland on the Dukes of Lancastre on the Dukes of York and on the lordes of this towne that thar be no man so hardy of this towne be vertue of any patente of the Kyng of panage graunted to this towne to take any costume panage or toll of the tenaunts of the Dukes of Lancastre or of the Dukes of York of payne of lesyng of hys lyf and if any man of the forsayde towne had any panage or toll takyn of the tenaunts of the Dukes forseyde that they schulde giffe it thann agayn of the peryle of the payne beforsayde.

[It appears from numbers 80 and 142 of the Antient Indictments that riots of a more or less serious nature broke out in Oxfordshire and Berkshire on Palm Sunday 1398. (See note 2 to p. 255 of the second edition of 'England in the Age of Wycliffe.')]

[1] Contempt.

SOMERSETSHIRE

Assize Roll 774. (Skin 6.)

Inquisitio capta apud Taunton coram Iohanne Hull et Iohanne Manyngford die Martis proxima post dominicam in Ramis Palmarum 22 Ric. II [2 April, 1399] per sacramentum Iohannis Peverell [and eleven others] qui dicunt quod Iohannes Whithey Ric. Moris Thos. atte Water Ric. Segar Ioh. Valentyn Rob. Chese Hen. Caleway Ioh. Rephey Ioh. atte Stokke Will. Horn Walt. atte Leye Thos. Sely Ioh. Burgh Rob. Leverych Will. Southey Ioh. Horeknoll Ric. Horeknoll [and thirteen others] native tenentes . . . episcopi Bathoniensis et Wellensis manerii de Welynton terras et tenuras teneant separatim native ad voluntatem episcopi viz. quilibet predictorum Thome atte Water Hen. Caleway Io. Ryphey Walt. atte Leye Io. Horeknell Ric. Comere Ric. Hankyn et Rob. Osbarn est dimidius virgatarius et tenet unum mesuagium et xxiv acras terre et prati et quilibet predictorum Io. Whythey Ric. Moris Ric. Segar Io. Valentyn Rob. Chese Io. atte Stokke W. Horn Thos. Sely Io. Burgh Rob. Leverych W. Southey Ric. Horeknell W. Wodeford W. atte Water Io. Gredhay Io. Frenk W. Frenk Tho. Grybbell W. Chate Io. Randolf Io. Taillor W. Lancok est Ferdellarius et tenet unum mesuagium quadraginta acras terre et prati qui quidem omnes et singuli sic native tenentes et eorum antecessores tenentes de predictis terris facere debent et a tempore quo non exstat memoria facere consueverunt inter quam plura alia diversa custumaria opera cariagia averagia et servicia pro terris et tenuris suis predictis viz. quilibet eorum per se tenens unam tenuram de antiquis tenuris ab antiquo octodecem dimidii virgatarii et triginta et novem ferdellarii nuncupati invenire debet et solet et solebat 1398.

unum hominem et unum affrum ad sumptus suos proprios quociens sumonitus fuerit per ministros episcopi ad cariandum a manerio predicto usque Exoniam vel alibi ad distanciam quindecem leucarum viz. quatuor bussellos frumenti vel sex busellos avenarum ac alia blada victualia seu victalia et hernesia. Et si cariaverunt usque Welles et alibi ultra distantiam xv leucarum quod vocatur longum averagium duo dimidii virgatarii coniunctim a toto tempore supradicto invenire consueverunt unum hominem et unum affrum ad custus suos proprios ad hujusmodi longum averagium faciendum et iv ferdellarii a toto tempore predicto consueverunt invenire unum hominem et unum affrum eisdem modo et forma ad consimile averagium faciendum. Ac etiam fenum episcopi infra miliaria et spacia predicta et ultra in modo et forma predictis cariabunt. De quibus quidem cariagiis frumenti avenarum victualium etc. episcopus et predecessores . . . seisiti fuerunt ut de iure ecclesie St. Andr. Wellensis predicti tamen Thos. Atte Water [and seven others] dimidii virgatarii Iohs. Whythy [and twenty-one others] ferdellarii native tenentes terras et tenuras . . . de predictis antiquis tenuris ab antiquo nuncupati xviii dimidii virgatarii et xxxix ferdellarii sumoniti et quilibet eorum per se sumonitus per Ric. Prest et Wm. Cape prepositos et Iohem Hull messorem ministros episcopi die Dominica proxima post festum Epiphanie Domini anno regni regis vicesimo secundo apud Welyngton ad cariandum fenum episcopi a Welyngton ad Wyuelescombe . . . infra distanciam xv leucarum . . . unanimi consensu responderunt quod noluerunt fenum . . . cariare . . . et expresse id facere recusaverunt et subsequenter die lune in crastino predicti natiue tenentes vi et armis gladiis baslardis in magnis conventiculis . . . contra pacem se collegerunt . . . et ibidem inter eos habito eorum consilio et ordinatione ad resistendum episcopo et ministris suis ad non faciendum cariagium feni huius se invicem iuramentis ad tunc se interligaverunt et confederaverunt ut unusquisque per se et eorum omnes et singuli impedirent . . . episcopo et ministris suis manu forti et inter se diversas pecuniarum summas collegerunt pro expensis circa resistenciam etc. . . . Et Rico. Prest et Wo.

Cape et Iohi Hull minarunt de vita et membrorum mutilatione quominus officia sua exercere potuerunt nec audebant Et prefati natiue tenentes procurarunt et consiliarunt diversis vicibus Iohannem Gotewey Thom. atte Lane Ric. atte Mere (and seventeen others) villanos de sanguine et nativos episcopi ut ipsi et eorum quilibet resisterent domino suo episcopo cum eisdem native tenentibus ad non faciendum amplius cariagium huius feni qui quidem nativi de sanguine statim consenserunt.

Et consilia rebelliones conventicula etc. tam native tenentes quam nativi de sanguine usque nunc continuarunt contra pacem domini Regis etc. Per quod preceptum est vicecomiti quod non omittat quin capiat etc.

Ita quod habeat corpora etc.

Placita apud Taunton coram Io. Hull Io. Manyngford [and other justices] die Sabti. in Septimana Pasche 22 Ric. II.

Episcopus dicit quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam 1000 librarum et inde producit sectam etc.

Thos. atte Water Hen. Caleway [and others] dicunt quod non possunt dedicere resistencias nec rebelliones conventiculas collectiones etc. nec subtractiones serviciorum etc. sed ea et omnia expresse cognoverunt prout episcopus narravit.

Episcopus dicit se nolle ulterius prosequi versus Iohannem Whythey Rob. Chese Will. Chate and Will. Lancok. Ideo consideratus quod episcopus recuperet versus Thom. atte Water Henry Caleway [and twenty-four] dampna sua ad mille librarum [qui] comittuntur prisone.

Et instanter episcopus gratis relaxat mille marcas de dampnis suis . . . postea ad istam eandem sessionem Episcopus cognovit quod satisfactum est ei de residuo dampnorum . . . et super hec predicti Thos. atte Water Henry Caleway [and twenty-four] petunt se admitti ad finem faciendum cum domino rege occasionibus predictis et admittuntur . . . eant sine die.

Section II.

INQUISITIONS CONCERNING JOHN NORTHAMPTON

LATE MAYOR OF LONDON

1387–8

EXTRACTS FROM INQUISITIONS TAKEN AT THE TRIAL OF JOHN NORTHAMPTON.

Coram Rege Roll, Hill. 11 *Ric.* II 507, *Rex* 39.

Alias coram Nicholao Brembre Maiore extitit presentatum quod Iohannes Norhampton nuper maior civitatis London videlicet anno Ric. II 5 et 6 per diversas vices congregare fecit apud tabernam Iohannis Willyngham in the Bowe unum vel duos homines de viginti misteris videlicet Armurers Girdeleres Lorimers Pynners Wyrdraweres Cardmakeres Curreours Horneres Tileres Smythes Dygheres Fullers Shermen Haberdasshers Cordewaneres et aliis parvis misteris quicunque eo tenebant et qui electi fuerunt per Iohannem Norhampton essendi de communi consilio. Et ibidem quolibet tempore talis consilii fuerunt cum predicto maiore Iohannes More, mercer, Ricardus Norbury, mercer, Willelmus Essex, draper, ac etiam Thos. Usk skriveyn ad scribendum billas suas. Et ibi disputate fuerunt diverse materie et propositiones in enervacionem libertatis et consuetudinis civitatis hactenus usitate et subvercionem eiusdem civitatis. Sic quod ad quodlibet commune consilium ipsi qui fuerunt sic electi et ibidem presentes sub una voce concordare possent super materiis et propositionibus sic prius captis. Et super hoc predicti quolibet die communis consilii publice clamaverunt unanimi assensu super materiis predictis. Et sic per istam viam Iohannes Norhampton [and the above-named four others] introduxerunt quodlibet propositum quod eis placuit et illud de Recordo in libris Gihalde London intrare fecerunt. Et quia Will. Walworthe miles et alii fuerunt in contraria opinione, concordatum fuit inter prefatos Iohannem Norhampton [and the four others]

London.

quod Iohannes Norhampton tempore quo fuit maior capere posset ad consilium suum quem ei placuerit et eos qui in contrarium voluntatis sue stare vellent dimittere. Et quod nulli de misterio qui contra eum tenebant venire deberent ad commune consilium, nisi duo tantum, et qui presentati fuerunt per homines misterarum predictarum qui de assensu Iohannis Norhampton extiterunt set de aliis misteris qui cum eo tenebant venirent quotquot vellent. Et sic ordinavit habere secum ad quodlibet commune consilium tot homines de misteris predictis cum eo tenentes quod altera pars contra eum in contrarium tenens contra suum propositum valere non potuit. Item presentant quod predicto tempore quo Iohannes Norhampton fuit maior ordinatum est per Iohannem Norhampton et alios quod omnes aldermanni de anno in annum amoveri et alii loco eorum reeligi deberent. Et quod commune consilium tenere deberet per homines diversarum misterarum. Et quod nullus vitellarius gereret officium iudiciale infra civitatem, et quod vitellarii forinseci venire deberent ad civitatem cum victualibus suis libere ad victualia illa tam ad retalliam quam alio modo vendenda non habito respectu ad libertatem de victualibus hactenus usitatam. Et intencio et ordinatio Iohannis Norhampton erant quod articuli predicti et omnes ordinaciones per ipsos facte sive male sive bone essent in futurum cum vi populi eis atracti observari deberent et manuteneri contra aliquem maiorem qui pro tempore in posterum fuerit et in contrarium stare vellet. Ac postmodum quando probi homines tale iniquum consilium relinquerunt prout de necesse eos oportebat Iohannes Norhampton [and the four others] attraxherunt sibi communem populum de aliquibus misteris de eorum assensu ad standum cum eis in eorum propositis ad moriendum et vivendum in iniquis materiis supradictis, et quod ad omne tale consilium cum predicto Iohanne fuerunt presentes Ioh. More Ric. Norbury W. Essex Tho. Usk et aliquando Adam Bamme. Et quod eorum ordinacio et propositum tunc fuerunt ad habendam totam civitatem in eorum gubernacione etc. vel aliter ad amovendum omnes probos homines qui potentes ad eos contradicendos forent. Item pro eo quod antiqui officiarii viz. recordator, camerarius Gihalde, et communis clericus,

et alii officiarii consentire noluerunt opinionibus Iohannis Norhampton [and of the four others] set sein contrarium tenuerunt. Iidem Iohannes Norhampton [and the four others] circa festum Pasche [22 March 1382] anno Ric. II 6 apud Gihaldam et alibi de die indiem tempore quo Iohannes Norhampton in officio maioratus extitit conspiraverunt ad amovendos per processum temporis officiarios predictos et locis eorum tales posuisse qui opiniones predictas manutenere vellent. Et dixerunt publice quod omnes qui contrarium propositi sui tenuerunt extiterunt inimici omnis boni propositi et hoc fuit continue excitatio eorum ad pauperem communem populum faciendum magis ferventem contra probiores et etiam officiarios civitatis. Et dictum fuit populo per Iohannem Norhampton quod maiores homines civitatis semper habere vellent populum in subiectione et opressione et in simpliciori gradu quo possent. Pro quibus quidem verbis et eorum manutenencia, discordia et distencio tunc mote fuerunt et adhuc sunt inter probos homines et mediocrem populum in enervacionem status. Item presentant quod die sabbati proximo ante festum translationis sancti Edwardi anno Ric. II 6 [13 June 1383] ante secundam electionem Iohannis Norhampton in maiorem pro anno tunc sequente pro eo quod Iohannes Philipot miles fuit contra prefatum Iohannem Norhampton in malefactis suis, predictus Iohannes More false procuravit billam fieri et per communem consilium coram prefato maiore die electionis sue apponi et legi ad petendam de Iohanne Philipot quandam summam pecunie quam ipse mutavit de quibusdam personis tempore maioratus sui, et tunc propositum fuit quod idem Iohannes Philipot abiudicaretur ab omni statu et officio ex tunc gerendo infra civitatem. Item presentant quod predicto die sabbati quedam ordinationes in secretis facte fuerunt apud mansiones Iohannis Norhampton et Iohannis More per Iohannem Norhampton et alios ad procurandum omnino quod communes civitatis de eorum assensu Iohannem Norhampton in maiorem eligerent et non alium, ad talem intencionem quod omnes ordinationes prius per Iohannem Norhampton et alios facte per dominum Regem in parliamento suo tunc proxime tenendo confirmari possent.

Item presentant quod apud dictum parliamentum prosecutum fuit quoddam breve domini Regis patens per Ricardum Norbury W. Essex Iohannem More et Thomam Carleton eidem maiori directum ex eius assensu ad puniendum omnes usurarios infra civitatem tam ad sectam cuiuscunque persone conqueri volentis quam per indictamenta per quod breve patens postea eodem anno apud London concordatum fuit inter prefatos tunc maiorem et alios supradictos, quod execusio inde fieri deberet super quacunque persona qui inde contigerit probari culpabilis ad sectam patris. Et sic per falsam ymaginacionem et coniectamentum Iohannis Norhampton eodem anno in parochia beate Marie atte Bowe prius habitam plures de probioribus civibus inde impetiri et execusio super eos fieri deberet quod ipsi amodo aliquem statum seu officium infra civitatem non portarent et sic proposuerunt ad implendas omnes falsas ordinaciones et proposita sua super quo preordinatum fuit per Iohannem Norhampton [and the four others] de officiis maiorum aldermannorum vicecomitum et aliorum officiorum pro annis tunc proximis futuris quod aliqui adversarii Iohannis Norhampton aliquod officium non gererent.

Item presentant quod per procurationem Iohannis More,[1] Walterus Sibyle, Iohannes Horn, Adam Karlill false extiterunt indictati per diversas inquisitiones de diversis insurrectionibus et aliis feloniis apud London anno sexto supradicto coram Adam Bamme et Iohanne Sely tunc vicecomitibus London de quibus due inquisitiones meliores pro domino Rege inde retornate fuerunt et non plures: Et residue inquisitiones ad procurationem dicti Iohannis More retente fuerunt in manibus eorundem vicecomitum. Item presentant quod sepius ante festum translationis sancti Edwardi 7 Ric. II quo die Nicolaus Brembre electus fuit in maiorem dicte civitatis ex assensu predictorum Iohannis Norhampton tunc maioris Iohannis More Rici Norbury etc. ex falsa coniva et conspiratione prius inter eos habita Will. Essex Thos. Usk ibant ad aulam aurifabrorum ad loquendum cum hominibus de comuni consilio pro electione maioris pro anno

[1] See Réville, pp. 190–9, for conduct of Sibyle and Horn in London in June 1381.

sequente propter quod omnia nomina consilii liberata fuerunt eidem Thome Usk per Iohannem Norhampton ad talem intencionem, quod dictus Thomas loqui deberet comunibus predictis quos cognovit de materia predicta. Et tunc concordatum fuit ibidem quod certe persone de diversis misteris de assensu Iohannis Norhampton quorum nomina prius in comuni consilio intrata non fuerunt die electionis predicte exigi deberent inter commune consilium ad auxiliandum ad electionem Iohannis Norhampton in maiorem et mediocres homines populi positi fuerunt in dicto consilio ad talia facta auxilianda, ad talem intencionem quod ipsi firmiter starent cum Iohanne Norhampton omnibus suis agendis, et si in tempore futuro aliquis alius maior electus fuerit infra civitatem contrarius Iohanni Norhampton et aliquid dicere vellet contra eundem Iohannem pro premissis vel aliis malefactis quod Iohannes Norhampton habere posset prefatos comunes mediocres sic sibi attractos paratos ad ipsum manutenendum contra omnia que sibi imponi contingeret.

Item presentant quod nocte ante diem electionis Nicholai in maiorem Iohannes More in mansione sua in parochia beate Marie atte Bowe premonuit omnes servientes suos quod essent armati in crastino apud Gihaldam, et dixit eis quod ipse et socius suus alter vicecomes eodem die ostia Gihalde custodire vellent, quod nullus intrare debuisset nisi ipsi qui Iohannem Norhampton in maiorem eligere voluissent.

Item presentant quod in die quo Nicholaus electus fuit venerunt I. Norhampton [and the other three] ad domum Iohannis More inmediate post prandium apud le Bowe et ibidem concordatum fuit quod I. Norhampton mittere deberet pro personis qui tempore electionis Nicholai fuerunt in comuni consilio misterarum et pro custodibus misterarum quod venirent apud Goldsmythehalle in die crastino et ibi Iohannes Norhampton loqui deberet eis et ordinare qualiter electio Nicholai Brembre posset adnullari. Et sic fecerunt, et nisi fuisset pro timore domini Regis tunc superuenientis infra ciuitatem magnus rumor et insurrectio causa Iohannis Norhampton et aliorum euenissent vbi Iohannes Norhampton fuit maior et gubernator pacis.

Et postea Iohannes Norhampton misit Ric. Norbury

. . . apud le Neyt ad ducem Lancastrie ad informandum ipsum ducem quod eodem die electionis ipsi putabant procedere ad electionem maioris in pace dei et domini Regis sed quod supervenit quedam horribilis comitiva magnorum clamatorum eis incognitorum et ibi absque aliqua consuetudine civitatis prius in electione maioris usitata vi et manu forti elegerunt prefatum Nicholaum, et supplicaverunt ducem quod ipsi habere possent quoddam breve domini Regis ad procedendum ad novam electionem faciendam. Super quo Dux eis respondit et dixit eis quod ipsi nullum breve inde haberent sed quod avisarent se inde inter seipsos. Item presentant quod in crastino proximo post diem electionis Nicholai Brembre in maiorem apud aulam aurifabrorum quando populus de suo assensu congregatus fuerat, Iohannes Norhampton recitavit peiori modo quam poterat electionem Nicholai et dixit eis pro certo quod provisum fuit quod ipsi ponerentur in magnam subiectionem si dictam electionem fore paterentur quodque ipsemet pati noluit set dixit cicius paciamur omnes mori una vice quam tale opprobrium sustinere. . . . Communes comoti fuerunt et dixerunt quod ipsi vellent procedere ad aliam electionem. Et Iohannes Norhampton precepit eis ut quilibet ad domum suam festinaret et cum omnibus hominibus de misteris suis usque in Chepe revenirent ad novam electionem faciendam. Et nisi plures aldermanni supervenissent & cum Iohanne Norhampton pro pace tractassent dicti comunes tunc ad novam electionem procedere voluissent, et in tali calore & comocione interfecisse proponebant omnes qui eis contradicere voluissent et tam Nicholaum et aldermannos quam alios. Item presentant quod super omnes materias superius nominatas dum Iohannes Norhampton fuit maior, Iohannes Norhampton, Iohes More, Ric. Norbury, Will. Essex, & Thos. Usk et aliquando Adam Bamme viz. annis [Ric. II] 6 et 7 percipientes bonas et probas personas eiusdem civitatis pro mala gubernacione et debili consilio eorundem ac pro eo quod ipsi dictas bonas personas prius in obprobrium habuerunt ab eis se retraxhisse attraxerunt sibi plures homines de diversis misteris et multum mediocrem populum qui de bona gubernacione omnino ignorantes fuerunt et per conspirationem

inter eos prius factam et per congregationem populi proposuerunt ad manutenenda forti manu sua falsa et mala proposita sub colore verborum comunis proficui, et semper incitaverunt populum ad essendum paratum ad standum cum eis. Et sic tam postquam idem Ioh. Norhampton non fuit maior viz. 7 Ric. II quam antea dictus Iohannes Norhampton [and the four others] felonice conspiraverunt et in tantum depravabant bonos homines civitatis quod populus fuit et adhuc est audacior ad rebellandum contra gubernatores suos . . . Et sic per eos . . . magnus rumor et tumultus qui adhuc regnant in populo evenerunt sic quod est in punctu ad perturbandum totum regnum Anglie. Et postquam Ioh. Norhampton cessavit ab officio maioratus viz. immediate post festum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude [28 Oct. 1383] anno Ric. II 7 et anno sequenti. Et postquam Nicholaus officium maioratus assumpsit Ioh. Norhampton [and the four others] soliciti fuerunt ad trahendum populum ad Ioh. Norhampton et moverunt ad standum cum eis in malefactis suis contra Nicholaum Brembre. Et super hoc, die lune proxima post festum S. Hillarii anno Ric. II 7 [17 Jan. 1383] Ioh. Norhampton venire fecit Thomam Usk apud la Bawe inter homines quos ipse congregavit et ibidem monstravit quandam billam contra ipsum factam et supplicavit omnes ad standum cum eo. . . . Et quod ipsi non paterentur per aliquem hominem de London ei inferri aliquod dampnum seu gravamen. Item dicunt quod post I. Norhampton arestatus fuit per Nicholaum Brembre viz. die dominica proxima post festum purificationis beate Virginis Marie anno Ric. II 7 [7 Feb. 1383] apud London Robertus Franceys aurifaber, Iohes. Lincolle aurifaber, et Thos. Usk in quantum in ipsis fuit false prosecuti fuerunt usque Ducem Lancastrie ad informandum Ducem quod Iohannes Norhampton fuit optimus maior qui unquam exstitit et deterioraverunt Nicholaum Brembre et eius gubernacionem. Item presentant quod Iohes. More mercer Ric. Norbury mercer Robt. Franceys aurifaber die Iovis undecimo februarii anno Ric. II 7 cum aliis insurrexerunt contra Nicholaum maiorem . . . et fecerunt conventiculas tam in parochia beate Marie atte Bowe quam alibi in diversis partibus civitatis et suburbiis per

quod ostia et fenestre plurimarum shoparum in Westchepe Bugirowe Fletstret et alibi prius mane aperta postea cito in signum insurrectionis claudebantur, et populum congregaverunt conspirando mortem Nicholai maioris. Et predictus maior hoc audito assumpsit secum plures aldermannos et alios sapientes forti manu armatos venerunt in Westchepe ad pacem domini Regis conservandam. Item per quandam inquisitionem similiter presentatum extitit quod Ioh. Norhampton civis et draper, W^s^ Essex draper, Ric. Norbury mercer, Robt. Ryseby draper, Thos. Usk scryveyn, Iohes Maudeleyn taillour, Guido Paulyn draper, Iohes Bere haberdasher, Iohes Muntham ioynour, Thos. Kyngesbrigge cordewaner, sunt primi et principales conspiratores de talibus conventiculis etc. Et quod ipsi ex eorum malicia die lune proxima post festum omnium sanctorum anno septimo in parochia Sancte Marie atte Bowe in warda de Cordwanerstret postquam dictus maior omnis officii maioratus civitatis per sacramentum suum assumpsit, et sic postea ab illo die de die in diem tam ibidem quam apud ecclesiam Sancti Pauli et apud fratres minores et fratres Augustinences . . . conspiraverunt contra maiorem et aldermannos et . . . per quod quedam pars magna populi apparuit per diversa signa vultus et verba rebellis et inobediens maiori etc. Et etiam dicunt quod predictus maior vicesimo secundo die Ianuarii anno septimo coram consilio domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in presencia diversorum aldermannorum Iohanni Norhampton locutus fuit in parte de malefactis suis et aliarum maliciarum suarum tamen tunc honestiori modo quam poterat. Et licet idem Iohannes Norhampton malefacta aliqua ibidem cognoscere noluit tamen coram dicto consilio se submisit integre ad standum ordinacioni et considerationi maioris et aldermannorum. Super quo tunc per dictum consilium dictum fuit et preceptum Iohanni Norhampton quod iret cum maiore et aldermannis ad civitatem sub custodia eiusdem maioris et ibidem staret eorum ordinacioni et eis se conformaret . . . pro maiore periculo evitando. Quodque Iohannes Norhampton tunc ibidem concessit faciendum . . . statim de gratia maioris et ob reverenciam consilii domini Regis Ioh. Norhampton dimissus fuit per probos homines qui

manuceperunt pro Iohanne Norhampton quod ipse pacifice se gereret et quod nullam congregationem sine licencia maioris faceret . . . quibus omnibus non obstantibus per duos dies de die in diem proximam ante dominicam proximam post festum Purificationis beate Virginis Marie (6 Feb. 7 Ric. II) [1383] Iohannes Norhampton misit per suos vicinos ad sumonendum diversos homines circa numerum quingentarum personarum qui venerunt ad Iohannem Norhampton eodem die dominica ratione summonitionis ad ecclesiam beate Marie atte Bowe. Et idem Iohannes Norhampton illos duxit per medium de Westchepe et per medium ecclesie Sancti Pauli et sic extra Ludgate usque ecclesiam fratrum Carmelitorum in suburbiis. Ex quibus causis maior arestavit eum et secum ab inde duxit in mansionem maioris et sic sub aresto remansit quousque virtute cuiusdam brevis domini Regis missus fuit usque castrum de Corff. [Here follows another account of the riots on Feb. 11, as given above, and some further information as follows :—]

Iohanna uxor Iohannis Payn de London goldsmith in eisdem rumore et turbatione medio tempore venit ad mansionem maioris ubi Iohannes Norhampton sub aresto fuit detentus, dicens, Volumus habere extra mansionem istius maioris Iohannem Norhampton false et iniuste arestatum per eundem maiorem, et excitavit populum ad mansionem frangendum et Iohannem Norhampton deliberandum Et dicunt quod die Iovis xij die Maii anno septimo Iohannes Bere haberdasher in Bredestret dixit ad excitandum populum contra maiorem quod inquisivit plusquam antea inquisivisset viz. quod vitellarii London aliter debent regulari quam modo regulati sunt invitis dentibus eorum. Et dixit quod ex gubernatione civitatis London tam civitates quam Burgi quam ville per totam Angliam capiunt exemplum, et quod civitas London cuius unus civis ipse fuit magis false et inique regulata erat de victualibus quam alia civitas in Anglia et ulterius dixit quod Iohannes Norhampton maliciose ponebatur in carcere et adeo iniuste et false mittebatur in carcerem sicut sanctus Thomas Cantuar. occidebatur, et hoc advocare volebat et manutenere usque ad mortem. Et

dixit quod nunquam voluit potare vinum vel servisiam vel manducare prandium quod bonum ei faceret quousque Iohannes N. refuisset in eodem statu maioris quo prius erat, etc.

[Here follows another inquisition. It gives a good many more names of John Northampton's party, and mentions a few more places where they met etc.; it also states that Robert Cumberton was arrested for trying to rescue J. Northampton after the latter's arrest. Then follows a third inquisition, from which the following is taken.]

Exstitit presentatum quod Iohannes Norhampton draper, Thos. Carleton brouderer, W. Essex, T. Usk, Ric. Norbury, principales conspiratores fuerunt. Item dicunt quod Iohannes More Robertus Cumberton frater Iohannis Norhampton Iohannes Costantyn cordewaner Iohannes Doncastre copersmyth I. Muntham joiner . . . fuerunt auxiliantes etc. [recites doings at Westminster on 22 January as above and Northampton's marching his adherents through St. Paul's] et sic extra Ludgate usque Fletbrigge maiore de congregatione sic subito congregata certificato ad domum Ricardi Waldegrave militis, in parochia S. Mich. de Hoggenlane in Wode street, ubi W. Walworth, Iohes Phelippot, milites, Robertus Warbulton, Iohannes Shadworth, Adam Bamme, Henricus Bamme, et alii ad prandium inde extiterunt. Et predictus maior assumptis secum predictis Iohanne Phelippot, Henrico Vannere, Willo Cheyne, una cum Simone Wynchecombe, uno vicecomitum civitatis . . . festinavit usque Westchepe et viderunt Iohannem Norhampton et populum suum euntem ad Ecclesiam S. Michaelis atte Corne. Et maior misit Iohannem Botkysham unum servientum suorum ad Iohannem Norhampton inhibendo eis ex parte domini Regis et sua quod non irent ulterius donec idem maior ad eos venisset, qui quidem Iohannes Botkysham venit ad eos cicius quo poterat in cimiterio sancti Pauli et eis inhibuit prout oneratus fuit; et hoc non obstante noluerunt attendere sed quidam eorum dixit 'hold fot hold fot.' Et Iohannes Botkysham hoc videns rediit maiori et ei inde certificavit. Et maior iussit alias eidem servienti ire ad eos ut atten-

derent maiorem et socios suos Et predictus serviens ivit et venit ad eos in ecclesia sancti Pauli et eis nunciavit nuntium suum. Et Iohannes Norhampton et alii servienti noluerunt dare intellectum, sic quod serviens rediit maiori et hoc nunciavit sic quod tercio idem serviens oneratus fuit per maiorem quod iret ad eos eis dicendum ex parte domini Regis et sua ut attenderent dictum maiorem et socios suos quousque ad eos pervenirent sub pena et periculo super hoc incumbentibus.

Et predictus serviens currens tercio venit ad dictum Iohannem Norhampton apud Fletbrigg dicendo eis nuntium suum. Et tunc Iohannes Norhampton et alii respicientes retro et videntes maiorem prope et festinando se usque eos attenderunt. Iohannes Norhampton dimisit populum illum ex utraque parte vici. Et cum maior cum aliis paucis ad eos venisset et ipsos per medium pertransisset eundo usque fratres Carmelitos predicto maiore et aliis secum existentibus. Et tunc retro respicientes et videntes Iohannem et populum cum eo sic existentem et secum congregatum stare invicem in forma qua fecerunt quando per eos pertransiverunt et non predictum maiorem sequentes sic quod dictus maior et omnes alii hoc videntes inde mirabantur. Et sic Iohannes Norhampton extitit rebellis et fecit rebellionem et paream usque maiorem suum Super quo maior tunc ter vel quater tam per verba quam per signa rogavit et iussit eos venire et ire secum ipsos et nullus eorum se movebat quousque Iohannes Norhampton primo se lente cepit movere et tunc alii cum eo venerunt et maiorem a longe et inobedienter sequebantur usque ad fratres Carmelitos in ecclesiam eorum . . . super quo maior in ecclesia fratrum Carmelitorum iussit quod omnes de libertate civitatis redirent secum pro pace domini Regis conservanda Et quidam clamabant quod non secum redirent . . . Et cum idem maior rediisset ab ecclesia usque pontem de Fletebrigg habens Iohannem Norhampton tunc in custodia . . . ad pacificandas gentes ex utraque parte quia plures ibidem congregaverunt insimul ad faciendam tunc partem et rebellionem versus maiorem sed deo dante maior et aldermanii tunc habuerunt forciorem partem. Et cum magno labore Iohannem Norhampton

et Robertum fratrem suum protexerunt et cum magna diligencia transierunt usque mansionem maioris. Et cum venissent ad finem vici de cordewanerstrete iuxta shopam Willelmi Kyng et prope hospitium mansionis Iohannis Norhampton idem I. Norhampton petiit a·dicto maiore dicendo per viam minarum 'But if ȝe wille ȝeue me leue go hom to my hous if eny peril falleth her after y shal aquite me & do me out ther of.' Et hoc dixit superbo modo et contemptuose super quo maior pro meliori et securiori custodia duxit Ioh. Norhampton ad mansionem maioris. Et dicunt quod turbationes rumores et affrayamenta de die in diem suborta et perpetrata fuerunt in civitate et suburbiis et precipue die iovis xi die Feb. quo die magne congregationes fiebant et hostia et fenestre domorum et shoparum in Westchepe Bugerow et alibi clausa fuerunt in signum insurrectionis . . . Et quidam homines malefactores et pacis domini perturbatores viz. Iohannes More Robertus Cumberton et Iohannes Costantyn insurrectionem fecerunt . . . [ends abruptly].

[For further information about the case of John of Northampton see Rot. Parl. iii. 225–7, Walsingham, vol. ii., and Higden, vol. ix.]

Section III.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LOLLARDS

1382–1398

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM PATENT ROLLS, CLOSE ROLLS, AND ANTIENT PETITIONS [1].

Rex Cancellario etc. Oxonie.

To expel from Oxford all 'fautores et receptatores certorum hereticorum—[namely] Iohannes Wycliffe, Nich. Herford, Ph. Repyngdon et John Aston.' Rot. Pat. 6 Ric. 2 (314), m. 32.

13 July, 6 R. 2. Teste Rege.

Rex Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.

To arrest preachers of heresy. Rot. Pat. 9 Ric. 2 (322), m. 12.

Westminster, 21 May, 9 Ric. 2.

Rex dilectis suis Radulfo de Crombewell chivaler et Iohanni Leke chivaler ac Maiori et Ballivis ville Nottingham necnon Vicecomiti Nottingham salutem. Rot. Pat. 11 Ric. 2, Part 2 (326), m. 20.

Quia informamur quod Magister Nic. Hereford et Magister Iohannes Wickliffe dum vixit quosdam libros libellos scedulas et quaternos diversas hereses et errores manifestas in fidei catolice lesionem et sacre doctrine derogationem continentes per se et fautores suos frequentius scribi et publicari fecerunt et pravas conclusiones tenuerunt et docuerunt Nos zelo fidei catolice nolentes huiusmodi hereses pullulare, assignavimus vos coniunctim et diversim ad omnes libros etc. ubicunque et quorumcunque manibus inveniri poterunt capiendos et arrestandos et penes consilium nostrum cum omni celeritate deferri faciendos ut tunc de eisdem ordinare valeamus prout de avisamento consilii predicti magis salubrius fore viderimus

[1] See MSS. Cott. Cleopatra E. II. Collections for History of the Church (17th century).

faciendum. Ac ulterius ad proclamandum et ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum ne quis sub pena imprisonamenti et forisfacture aliquos huiusmodi libros etc. de cetero emere vel vendere seu aliquas huiusmodi opiniones manutenere et docere presumat. Et ad omnes illos quos post proclamationem inveneritis in contrarium facientes arestandos et prisonis nostris mancipandos in eisdem detinendos quousque pro eorum deliberatione aliter duxerimus ordinandum Et ideo vobis mandamus quod cura premissa diligenter et efficaciter intendatis et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma predicta. Damus autem tam universis et singulis viris ecclesiaticis quam Vicecomitibus Maioribus Ballivis Ministris et aliis fidelibus et subiectis nostris tam infra libertates quam extra tenore presentium firmiter in mandatis quod vobis in premissis faciendis intendentes sint et auxiliantes.

Apud Westmonasterium, 30 March, 11 Ric. 2.

Rot. Pat. 11 Ric. 2, Part 2 (326), m. 22.

Rex . . . Iohanni Goddard chivaler Iohanni Hotham chivaler Will. de Risseby ac Vicecomiti nostro Ebor.

Same purport as last.

Dated 16 April, 11 Ric. 2. Apud Westmonasterium.

Rot. Claus. 12 Ric. 2 (236), m. 9.

Rex vicecomiti Northampton salutem. Quia

Iohes atte yate de Cheping Wardon
Iohes Warriner de Chipenwarden
Robertus Brewod
Iohes Roth
Iohes Warriner
Thos. Draper de Byfeld
Robertus Brewood
Iohes Wariner
Thos. Tybles
Iohes Balcoke
Iohes Brackley faber
Will. Heyward Wariner
Thos. Wakelyn
Steph. Hykkes
Egidius Taylour
Warrinus Somerby

Agnes Couper
Matilde Brewode
Willelmus Collins
[and 23 more, of whom 2 are women]

Lincolnie diocesis credentes receptatores et fautores hereticorum existunt et presertim Iohannis Wodeward capellani super heresibus a sacrosancta ecclesia dampnatis publice diffamati nec se volunt per sensuram ecclesiasticam iusticiari sicut venerabilis pater Iohannes Episcopus Linc. nobis certificavit. Nos volentes inobedientie dictorum resistere et ipsos iuxta eorum demerita castigari tibi precipimus quod tam prefatos credentes etc. quam predictum Iohannem Wodward per incarcerationem corporum suorum seu aliis viis iusticies donec licitis mandatis prefati episcopi in hac parte obedire et coram ipso super premissis responsuri comparere voluerint. Et hoc sub pena centum librarum nullatenus omittas.

Teste Rege apud Manerium de Langley, 8 March, 12 Ric. 2.

Rex dilecto Roberto de Martell Iusticiario in Comitatu Notyngham salutem. Cum prout regia intellexit celsitudo Iohannes Bradborne capellanus sue salutis immemor diversas heresias etc. in fidei ortodoxe enervacionem palam redundantes tam in ecclesiis dicti Comitatus quam alibi doceat et manuteneat animo indurato contra prohibitionem et inhibitionem nostras sibi in contrarium nuperime factas alios legeos et incolas nostras eiusdem Comitatus ut ipsi huius heresibus et nephariis opinionibus temere adhereant. Nos nolentes dictas heresias pululare Vobis mandamus injungentes quod prefatum Iohannem sine dilitacione arestari et ministris . . . Thome Archiepiscopi Ebor. tradi facietis. **Rot. Claus. 12 R. 2 (236), m. 28.**

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 21 Nov. 12 Ric. 2.

Rex Vicecomiti Nottingham salutem. Ex parte Iohannis de Stoke de Widmerpole capellani nobis est supplicatum ut cum ipse ad prosecutionem quorundam legeorum in gaola nostra Nottingham sub custodia tua detentus existat asserentium dictum Iohannem diversas hereses contra fidem catolicam predicasse velimus ipsum a gaola predicta **Rot. Claus. 12 R. 2 (236), m. 38.**

deliberari iubere. Nos pro eo quod Thomas Maperle de Nottingham coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra personaliter constitutus manucepit pro prefato Iohanne sub pena 20 librarum de habendo ipso coram nobis et consilio nostro seu archiepiscopo Ebor. et quod idem Iohannes heresim seu aliqua alia in lesionem fidei Catolice interim non predicabit tibi precepimus quod ipsum Iohannem a gaola deliberari facietis.

Teste Rege apud Cantabrigiam 17 Oct. 12 Ric. 2.

Rot. Claus. 13 Ric. 2, Pt. 1 (237), m. 31.

Rex custodi gaole Veteris Sarisburie

Cum Ricardus Talton Iohannes Romesey Robertus Paniot Will. Beumynster Laur. Loupe Roger Lovehill et Will. Cone in gaola predicta pro quibusdam erroribus et articulis per ipsos contra fidem Catolicam publice ut dicitur predicatis detenti existant Nos volentes ipsos iuxta eorum demerita castigari vobis mandamus quod si iidem ex causa predicta et non alia detenti existant tunc ipsos venerabili in Christo patri Iohanni Episcopo Sarisburiensi deliberetis prout eis de iure videbitur faciendum castigandos. Mandavimus enim eidem episcopo quod ipsos a vobis recipiat in forma predicta.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 10 July, 13 Ric. 2.

Rot. Claus. 15 Ric. 2 (240), m. 18.

Rex maiori et vicecomiti London qui nunc sunt vel qui pro tempore fuerint salutem. Ex relacione quorundam fidedignorum nobis et consilio nostro extitit iam noviter intimatum quod quedam gentes laice tam artifices quam alii civitatis predicte sue salutis immemores de die et de nocte in non modico numero adinvicem frequentius congregati quam plurima conventicula insolita in diversis locis clandestinis et privatis fecerunt et indies facere non desistunt super certis articulis et materiis sacre scripture et fidei ortodoxe modo heretico et erroneo disputando indefesse varias etiam opiniones et conclusiones sane doctrine contrarientes ac canonicis determinationibus et sanctionibus ecclesie repugnantes inter se singillatim comunicando in fidei subversionem et christianorum exemplum perniciosum unde tribulationes et rumores tam infra civitatem quam alibi

quod absit verisimiliter evenire et succedere formidantur infra breve nisi remedium per potestatem regiam celerius properetur Nos zelo fidei catolice etc. nolentes hereses pululare vobis mandamus quod infra civitatem et in locis ubi melius expedire videritis de tempore in tempus ex parte nostra publice proclamari facere quod nullus congregationes seu conventicula facere presumat sub pena omnium que nobis poterit forisfacere ac imprisonamenti. Et omnes quos contra proclamationem culpabiles inveneritis per corpora arestetis et prisone committatis.

Apud Westmonasterium, 21 Jan. 15 Ric. 2.

ANNO 16 RICH. 2.

The tenor of the complaint made to the Kinge and his councell against John Fox, Maior of Northampton, and others, exhibited in French by Richard Stermesworthe, a Wolman.

Original in French, Ant. Petitions, 7099. P.R.O. For English Translation Early 17th Century, cf. MSS. Cott.: Cleopatra E II., fol. 201. The original is much damaged and cannot now be fully read.

To our Soueraigne L[d] the King and to his graue councell sheweth Rich. Stermesworthe of the town of Northampton complaining vppon John Fox Maior of the same towne of Northampton. That whereas it is ordained by statute as also by the lawes of holy Kirke that Lollardes should be punished etc. the foresaid maior hath presumed by couler of his office to vse royall power within the towne of Northampton authoriseing Lollardes to preach maugre the Bishoppe of Lincoln and his curates.

Item how the said maire is a Lollard . . . keeping within his howse of his retinue one Richard Bullocke chaplaine, who hath been conuicted of many errors heresies before the Archdeacon of Northampton, and likewise one James Collyn sometime a prentice at the trade of Mersery in London refuseinge his arte to become a Lollard, and the saide James Collyn was the first maintayner and informer of Lollardy in Northampton. And that the saide Maior hath drawen to his company and counsell one Thomas Compeworthe of the county of oxforth, who hath been conuict before the Chancellor and Uniuersitie there of many errors

and hereses, and one Nicholas Weston a fryer Carmilett apostate and Lollard, without the license of his order. The which Maior hath by practise made the saide Fryer Nicholas parishe chaplaine of St. Gregorie at Northampton, there to preach Lollardy in comforte and maintenance of the misbeleeuers of the toune.

And that the said Maior hath drawen to his councell & confederacie William Northwold a Lollard & a common instructor and confessor of the lay people of that toune beinge Lollardes without license of saide Bishoppe, the which William by vntrue titell did occupie the archdeaconry of Sudbury for about seauen yeares and at his departure from the same took a great some of money by waie of simony on which he liueth at the howse of St. Andrewe at Northampton, where he hath caused such debate betweene the Prior and Mounkes that the house is wel ny vndoune, and many of the mounkes fledd awaie. Like troubles also William caused at Mekkesworth and at Osseney, and in the howse of St. John at Bedford, and in other places: whose whole conuersation as well in the court of Rome as in England hath been in simoney and subtile dealinge, who notwithstanding is still in Northampton amongst the Lollards and misbeleeuers reputed a verie profett speaking with the tongue of an angell.

Item the maior hath made the whole toune in manner to become Lollardes so that the whole toune is gouerned by them, no one daring gainsaie them for feare of theire lives. All ribauds infected with Lollardy, that come into the said towne are all courteously receiued & mainetayned as yf they were prophetts before all others.

Item on the morrowe after Xmas last past the Maior brought with him one Robert Braibrok a chaplaine an errant Lollard to preach within All Saints Church at Northampton maugre the bishope and contrary to inhibition made vnto him, who preached sundrie errours in maintenance of Lollardes. By occasion of which sermon the same day debate begann betweene man and man of the saide toune through the practice of the saide maior.

Item. The saide maior before the feast of St Hillary last past brought with him one ——— parson of the church of Wynkpole an errant Lollarde to preach etc. through maintenance of the maior & force of all the lollards of said toune assembled by agreement before made to maintaine the preacher. Which preacher did assend the pulpit to preache, when the Viccar of the church, after theffertorie in the masse parochiell, retourned to the aulter to singe his masse, where vppon the said maior goeing to the said Viccar at the alter with greate indignation took him by the backe of his vestiment to cause him to retourne from his masse and to cease vntill the s^d^ preacher had preached; which Vicar answered 'Non possum,' and after the saide parson preached to the people errors and heresies. And the same daie after dynner the saide parson came with the maior and a great many of Lollards in the foresaid manner to preach in the said church, where he preached errors and heresies depraueinge the peoples deuotion donne to Holy Kirke, of Pilgrimage to immages, painted tables, the frameinge of high and costlie workes of holy kirke, and of chalices made of gold or siluer for diuine seruice, and depraueinge of Statutes, concerning as well our soueraigne L. the King as Holy Kirke. . . . By which occasion Rich. Stormesworth cried to the preacher 'Tu autem' 'Tu autem' to cause him hold his peace, commanding him to come downe false Lollard without anie further speech or acte against the peace, the said Rich. Stormesworthe not being aware of the said false confederacie. Whereupon the said Maior in all haste starting vp with great force of Lollards as well of the towne as countrie . . . with force & arms against the peace etc. sought to laie hands vppon the said Richard & kill him in the church and certaine of the Lollardes so armed laye in waite for the said Richard without the church to have slaine him, and so the said Richard by certaine of his freinds was borne out of the church dore, from whence they immediatly carried him backe againe into the church for feare of his enemies without. At what time the said maior came straight and there arrested him to the peace, to please the Lollards. Whereuppon the Lollards were so incensed through anger and mallice to

have slaine the said Richard that with difficulty he escaped, being secretly conueyed to the vestry for saffegard of his life, vntill the said tumult were appeased. And all the other people within the church which were not priuy to the said couin and confederacy of the Lollards fledd in great doubt and despaire of their liues. . . . Whereuppon William Broughton and John Tony chaplaens range the Bells of the church to geather the people to cease the fray. After which the said maior gat him vp into the pulpit to incourage the said preacher to goe forward with his sermon etc. and commanded the people to keep silence and giue heed to the sermon vppon the paine of death, the said maior remaining in the pulpit hard by the preacher till he had finished his sermon. And after the said sermon the said maior and Lollardes with great pride and jollite ledd the fals preacher to the howse of the maior. And after the said Lollards retourning to the churchyard of the said church, and with haustie wordes threatened bloues to any that would gainesaye in any point touching the said sermon; so that the whole town is become Lollardes, no man dareinge open his mouth against theire likeinge, for fear of the said maior and Lollards.

Item vppon Tuesdaie next after the said Sundaie before the feast of St. Hillary the saide maior fearinge he might be blamed for that he had donne, gate vnto him eight or ix of the xxiiij chief men to assist him for the inditeing of the said Richard for the said fray. [The rest of this item and the next refer only to proceedings about the breach of the peace, and are omitted.]

Item the said Richard sheweth that the said maior by assent of the Lollards there sent messengers to Oxford and to other places for to hire preachers of Lollardye, to be brought to Northampton to preach there euerie Sunday during Lent last past at the Cross in the churchyarde in the marketplace of Northampton; the said cross being solemplie decked by the said maior with Tapestre and other furniture dureinge the time of the sermons. The which preachers did there preache in maintenance of Lollardy as before declared, contrairie to the Bishoppes inhibition etc.,

by the commandment and appointment of the said maior, diuerse of which said preachers were faine to borrowe in the said toune of Northampton furred hodes and habites for the time of their sermones. Therebie to be reputed of the common people for great Clerkes, in maintenance of Lollardy.

Item that the said maior beareth him so sterne & hawty in the said toune that the Bishoppe of Lincoln's Commissaries dare not sitt within the same town to inquire of Lollardy.

Item that on the first Sundaie of Lent last past the said Maior and others went to the Monasterie of St. Andrews in Northampton to seek William Northwold that he should preach, whom they brought with great solempnetie arrayed 'en vne cloke vne taberd et vne chapon furres' 'de pellure,' and with a capp vppon his head as yf he had been a Doctor or Master of Diuinitie, whereas he neuer took anie degree in scoles. The which Mr. William after the offertory of the Masse gate vp into the pulpit to preach, being before forbidden of the viccar by commission from the Bishoppe, where nothwithstanding he preached with great pride and courage of harte at such time as the viccar was retourned to the alter to singe his Masse. The said William nothing regarding the Masse nor the diuine seruice nor yet the eleuation of the sacrament desturbinge the said viccar with the great noyes of his wordes; insomuch that when the vicar at two seuerall tymes beganne the preface of the masse by note with loude voice, not anie chapleine durst make answere for fear of the said Maior. By which means the said viccar being greatlie distressed with much pensiunesse of harte was inforced to finishe his masse withoute note.

Item that on Sundaie before the feast of St. Gregorie last past the said William repaired again to preach at the said crosse arraied in his furres as before; the which William before the sermon withdrewe into the vestery of the Church of All Saints vntill the people assembled, where came vnto him the ministers as well of the Bishoppe as of the Arch-

deacon of Northampton with speciale commission and letters from the Bishoppe to inhibite the said William to preache, and to summon him before the Bishoppe to make answer to certaine artickles, the which commandement he in nowise obeied. Wherewithall cometh the Maior with great presse of Commons and did openlie rate the said ministers for that they had donne, and affirmed openlie that he and the Commons would haue the said Mr. William to preach that daie at the Crosse maugre the bishoppe, the archdeacon, and all their ministers; further commaundeinge the said ministers at theire perill to abide or departe thence for that they had there donne, and the said maior took out of the said commissioners hands the Bishoppes letteres, leding awaie with him the said William to preach at the crosse. The ministers abiding still in the vestrie vntill the maior retourning backe to deliuer them commanding them to come fourth and here the sermon, who hauinge noe minde so to doe prayed the maior to license them to goe safflie to theire Inne from thence to ride out of the town without feare of anie bodily harm, which was so graunted them. And the Maior came again to the crosse to heare the sermon which the said William forbare to beginne till his coming. And then began according to his habillitie in manner as beforesaid desiring the commons with tears to pray for him and to assist him in this case against the Bishoppe and his ministers, whom he called members of the diuill and disciples of Antichrist wrongfullie persecuting him against Gods lawes. All which was done by the said Maior and William in support of the said Lollards and in contempt of Holy Kirke.

Rot. Pat. 17 Ric. 2 (389), m. 26 d.

Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Iohanni Chandos chivaler [and others, among whom the Mayor and Sheriff of Hereford].

Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod Walterus Brut ac alii iniquitatis filii certos articulos et conclusiones sane doctrine repugnantes quorum quidem vt hereses ceteri vero vt errores per ecclesiam damnati sunt, in variis locis diocesis Hereford ac partium vicinarum clam et palam tenuerunt,

quodque Iohannes Episcopus Herefordensis ibidem adquisita sibi bona et matura deliberatione quam plurimum in sacra theologia doctorum ac aliorum clericorum in scripturis peritorum ex summa mentis devotione diversos processus legitimos ad prefatum Walterum ac alios complices suos coram eo et aliis doctoribus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Herefordense in crastino Translationis Sancti Thome Hereford prox. futuro personaliter comparere faciendum et contra eundem ibidem in premissis articulis et conclusionibus ad correctionem anime sue procedendum inchoare et facere proposuit iam de novo propter quod dictus Walterus ac alii sibi ex eorum protervia inherentes et confederati ne ipsi penam condignam iuxta eorum demerita sustinerent dictum pium propositum Episcopi adnullare pro viribus se conantur Assignavimus vos ad presens mandatum ut melius expedire videritis publice proclamari faciendum et ulterius inhibendum ne quis infra diocesem et partes conventicula congregationes vel confederationes ullo colore facere vel leuare seu quicquam attemptare presumat per quod pax nostra ledi aut idem Episcopus et doctores predicti in executionem huius correctionis iuxta canonicas sanctiones faciendam poterunt perturbari et ad omnes in hac parte delinquentes aut se in huiusmodi conventiculis tenentes inveneritis arrestandos et carcerali custodie mancipandos in eadem moraturos quousque aliud a nobis et consilio nostro pro eorum deliberatione habueritis in mandatis ac ad nos et dictum consilium nostrum de toto facto vestro in hac parte sub sigillis vestris vel alicuius vestrum distincte et aperte certificandum . . . etc.

Apud Westmonasterium, 27 Sept. 17 Ric. 2.

Rex Cancellario Univ. Oxon. Fama celebri divulgante nostris auribus iam noviter est intimatum quod quam plures opiniones nepharie et allegationes detestabiles in quodam libro ex compilacione Iohannis Wyclif Triolagus vulgariter nuncupato hereses et errores includentes ac sacris determinationibus ecclesie et maxime consecracioni sacramentali multipliciter repugnantes continentur et conscribuntur ex quorum publicacione et vesana doctrina populus . . . infici potest et decidere in errores . . . Nos zelo fidei etc.

Rot. Claus. 19 Ric. 2 (244), m. 20.

brachium seculare apponere cupientes Vobis mandamus quatinus omnes doctores theologie eiusdem Univ. ad certos dies eis per vos ex parte nostra prefigendos et statuendos convocari et librum illum in presencia vestra et eorum doctorum presentari et publice et expresse perscrutari et perlegi et examinari necnon hereses et errores quos in libro per vos reperiri contigerit in scriptis redigi et intitulari facere. Et nobis de omnibus et singulis que in premissis senseritis seu inveneritis una cum singulis attestacionibus et opinionibus doctorum in cancellariam nostram reddatis plenius certiores ut hiis inspectis et mature ponderatis ulterius de avisamento consilii nostri ordinare valeamus etc.

Teste Rege apud Ledes, 18 July, 19 Ric. 2.

Rot. Claus. 19 Ric. 2 (244), m. 24.

Rex Cancellario Oxon. Cum ex certa relacione sane didicimus quidam iniquitatis filii in universitate comorantes et scolatizantes et presertim Robertus Lychlade qui profane conversari permittitur in eadem opiniones ac conclusiones nepharias publicaverunt et docuerunt et tanquam zizannia in populo seminaverunt et adhuc publicare et docere intendunt nos ne populus inficiatur desiderantes universitatem illam que rore et deliciis sciencie literalis et virtutis hactenus potissime reflorebat ab erroribus expurgari Vobis precipimus quod omnes Lollardos et presertim Robertum predictum ab eadem universitate amoveri.

Teste Rege apud Ledes, 18 July, 19 Ric. 2.

Rot. Claus. 20 Ric. 2, (345), m. 28.

Rex Ballivis Abbatis de Readinge Precepimus quod omnes personas quas vobis per certificacionem Ricardi Episcopi Sarisburiensis constare poterit aliquas opiniones contra fidem Catolicam infra libertates de Readinge tenere ad certificationem predicti Episcopi arestetis et recipiatis et prefato Episcopo sive eius attornato cum transcripto huius brevis deliberetis in prisona quousque etc.

Teste Rege apud Cantuariam, 4 Aug. 20 Ric. 2.

Rot. Claus. 20 Ric. 2, (246), m. 13.

Rex Magistro Willelmo Northwold Tibi precipimus quod de cetero infra Regnum Anglie docere vel predicare

minime presumas sub pena perpetui imprisonamenti et forisfacture.

Teste Rege apud Eltham, 19 Apr. 20 Ric. 2.

per breve de privato sigillo.

Rex Willelmo de Scrope subcamerario Mandamus quod omnes Lollardos sub custodia vestra existentes cum omni festinatione venire facias coram nobis in propria persona ubicunque nos fore contingeret ad faciendum quod per nos de eis tunc contigerit ordinari. **Rot. Claus. 20 Ric. 2, (245), m. 10.**

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, 10 Mar. 20 Ric. 2.

Rex Episcopo Cicestriensi Cum prout ex certa relacione didicimus quidam iniquitatis filii in diocesi vestra commorantes opiniones nefarias et hereses fidei Catholice repugnantes in variis locis diocesis predicte tam clandestinis quam apertis publicaverunt et tanquam zizannia in populo seminaverunt et predicare non desistant Nos ne populus nequitia inficiatur vobis precipimus quod omnes Lollardos et alios pravitatis heretice suspectos capi arestari et in prisona salvo quousque pro eorum punitione aliter duxerimus ordinandum custodia demandandos. **Rot. Claus. 21 Ric. 2, (247), m. 17.**

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, 16 Oct. 21 Ric. 2.

Rex dilectis sibi cancellario ac procuratoribus studii Universitatis sue Oxon. etc. . . . salutem. Attendentes dampna que fidei catholice per dampnabilem scismatis errorem etc. evenerunt vobis mandamus quod attenta arduitate ac summa utilitate felicis successus et expedicionis negocii antedicti visis quia insuper diligenter circumspectis tenoribus duarum literarum unius videlicet carissimi patris nostri Francie et alterius studii parisius materiam predictam concernencium nobis etiam exhibitarum . . . quas vobis mittimus sub pede sigilli vos super materia predicta diligenter deliberetis et nobis mittatis finale responsum etc. **Rot. Claus. 22 Ric. 2, (249), m. 14 d.**

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, 20 November, 22 Ric. 2.

Rot. Claus. 22 Ric. 2, (249), m. 6.

Rex Episcopo Herefordensi Quod omnibus aliis pretermissis in propria persona sitis apud Oxford die lune proxima post festum convertionis S. Pauli proximum futurum ad dicendum et declarandum avisamentum vestrum de materiis nefarium scisma in ecclesia dei multipliciter iam regnans quod dolendum est tangentibus.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, 2 Jan. 22 Ric. 2.

[The same sent to 28 others (bishops, abbots, clerks, &c.)]

Section IV.

RETURN AS TO FOREIGN CLERGY IN ENGLAND

RETURN AS TO FOREIGN CLERGY IN ENGLAND

THE following notes are taken from the clerical subsidies in the Public Record Office.

With the exception of that for the diocese of London, which is dated in 1370, the returns were made in answer to a writ from the King to the various Bishops, dated 12 December, 1377. The writ was for a return as to 'quot viri alienigene seculares tam Cardinales quam alii cuiuscunque status seu condicionis fuerint in Episcopatu vestro ad beneficia ecclesiastica sunt promoti et quid et quantum eorum beneficia valent et quodlibet eorum valet per annum et que et cuiusmodi beneficia illa sunt et in quibus comitatibus et Archidiaconatibus consistunt et que sunt nomina et cognomina dicta beneficia occupantium.'

CANTERBURY.

16b

1. Brother *John Whitesand* is a foreigner and Prior of Horton Priory, and has two monks said to be aliens:

(1) There belongs to it Parish Church of Brabourne, fruits of which are worth	£30 0 0
(2) Portion of tithes of Parish of Hope .	5 marks
Also temporal goods in said diocese taxed at	£65 10 0

2. *Audemarus de Ruppe* (viz. Roche, see Le Neve's 'Fasti') Archdeacon of Canterbury, to which Archdeaconry belongs Parish Church of:

Lymyn, fruits taxed at	£20 0 0
Tenham	£133 6 8
Hakynton, near Canterbury . . .	20 marks
St. Clement, Sandwich, worth nearly .	8 marks
St. Mary in Sandwich, worth yearly .	£8 0 0
of which the Archdeacon gets . .	6 marks

£20 various revenues. Sir W. Latimer farms them.

3. *Richard Bethoun*, dwelling in Parish Church of *Upchurch*, receives fruits . . . £23 6 8

And temporal goods worth 25/7.

4. *Abbess and Convent Gynes* are foreigners and hold fruits and profits of Parish Church of Promehull worth . . . 16 marks

And profits of Parish Church of Brensete taxed at . . . . . 20 marks

And of Parish Church, Newinton, near Hythe, taxed £20 0 0

And temporal goods taxed at 21/10.

Sir W. Gunthorp receives profits abovesaid.

5. *Abbot and Convent St. Bertin.*

Profits of Parish Church of Thrulegh worth £40 0 0

Profits of Parish Church of Chilham worth £40 0 0

Temporal goods 20/6.

Henry de Apuldrefeld occupies tithes and fruits of said Churches (viz. farms them).

6. *Brother Nicolas Barbarote*, Prior of Priory of Folkeston, and two monks under him, are foreigners.

Parish Church of Folkeston belongs to him, taxed at £26 13 4

And temporal goods 3/4.

7. *Brother Richard Septemvant*, foreigner, receives fruit and profits of manor of abbot and convent of Beaulieu, foreigners, at Patricksbourne, taxed at . . . . 10 marks
8. *Abbot and Convent of Dunes* are said to receive temporal goods in parish of Eastchurch . 58/4
9. *Prior and Convent of Lewes* in Chichester diocese receive in Dover temporal goods taxed at 21/8
10. *Friars of Sentyngfeld* receive in Dover temporal goods worth 15/-
11. *Prior and Convent of Oakbourne* receive fruits of Parish Church of Glynde, taxed at £14 13 4
12. *Abbot and Convent of Pontigny* receive fruits of Parish Church of Romney taxed at £20 0 0

LICHFIELD.

15/3a

1. *Francis, Cardinal of St. Peter*, holds Deanery of Cathedral of Lichfield, with the Prebend of Brewood, and Church of Adebaston annexed to same Deanery 100 marks in all

Farmed by Richard del Hyde and John de Offeley, Chaplain, for said Cardinal.

2. *William de St. Clare*, alien, a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of St. John of Chester . 18 marks

Farmed by John de Barrow.

No more *secular* aliens promoted to benefices in this diocese.

N.B.—The Bishop of Lichfield does not make a return of any foreign abbots and regular clergy holding Parish Churches in appropriation, as the Archbishop of Cant. does.

ELY.

23/4a

1. *Brother Andreas de Plessa* monk of St. Jacuti, in Bretagne, occupies rectory of Linton, in Cambridge, taxed at . . £20 0 0

2. *Prior of Thetford*, in Norfolk, rectory of Dullingham	£20 0 0
3. *Prior of Lewes*, temporalities worth . .	£61 7 7
4. Same, has spiritualities	£10 7 10
5. *Prior of Pannfeld*, spiritualities . . .	78/6
6. *Prior of Castelacre*, spiritualities . .	22/6
7. *Prior of Bermondsey*, spiritualities . .	10/-
8. *Abbot of St. Walric* (Normandy), temporalities	10 marks
9. *Prior of Ware*, temporalities . . .	£16 8 4½
10. *Prior of Monte Maurelii*, temporalities .	£14 14 6
11. *Prior Welynton*, temporalities . . .	£9 16 4
12. *Prior of St. Neots*, temporalities . .	£11 17 4
" " " spiritualities . .	73/4
13. *Brother Andrew de Alyce*, Proctor and Abbot of St. Andrew, Vercellencis: Church of Chesterton	80 marks

63
9a

YORK.

Anglicus, Cardinal-priest promoted to the Deanery of Cathedral Church of York, taxed at	£373 6 8
And Prebend of Southcave . . .	160 marks
Guy of St. Cross in Jerusalem, Cardinal-priest, Archdeaconry of York	£68 0 0
And Prebend of Wystowe . . .	£100 0 0
Hugh, Cardinal-deacon. Prebend of Driffield, taxed at . . .	£100 0 0
Francis, Cardinal-priest. Prebend of Strensall	80 marks
John Cauchon. Church of Warton, taxed at 40 marks according to the old tax, and at 100 marks according to the new tax.	

WORCESTER.

58/3a

No aliens have been promoted to ecclesiastical benefices in this diocese.

WINCHESTER.

55/5c

Sir James de Ursinis, Cardinal, is rector of the Parish Church of Godalming, in the county of Surrey and Bishopric of Winchester . . . . . £50 per ann.

Master Nicholas Longe, born in Ireland, is rector of the Parish Church of Walton-on-Thames, in the said county and bishopric 40 marks p. a.

ROCHESTER.

50/1a

No names mentioned.

NORWICH.

45/1a

Cardinal de Sancto Angelo.
Archdeaconry of Suffolk in Co. Suffolk . 100 mks. p. a.

Laurence de Nigris of Rome.
Church at Alderton in Co. Suffolk . . 40 marks p. a.

Peter de Cusaunce.
Church of Northreppes in Co. Norfolk . £40 per ann.

LONDON.

42/3b

Writ dated at Westminster, 16 January, 43 Edward III. [1370].

ARCHDEACONRY OF LONDON. Nil.

MIDDLESEX.

Master John Cruse de Colonia.
Rector of the Church of Hendon . 30 mks. ster. p. a.

Brother Firminus de Founteynes.
Prior of Takelee.

He says and affirms that he is Rector of these Churches and occupies the same.	Istelworth	40	marks p. a.
	Heston	40	„ „
	Twykenham	30	„ „
	Hampton	20	„ „

Brother William Prior of Okeborne.
Rector of the Church of Russelep . . 80 mrks. ster.

Brother Robert Beauchamp.
Rector of the Church of Hermodesworth . £40 sterling

Brother William Prior, of Wolmyngton, in Co. Sussex, has one portion in the Parish of Sonnebury . . . . . 2 marks ster.

Brother William, Prior of Ware.
Rector of the Church of Ware . . . 80 marks ster.

Sir John Hardyngfeld.
Rector of the Church of Wydyhale . 100 *s.* sterling

Sir John Bokelond.
Rector of the Church of Ansty . . £60 sterling

Prior of Stoke.
Rector of the Church of Thaxsted . . 50 marks ster.

Abbatissa de Cadamo.
Rector of the Church of Feldsted . . 60 marks ster.

ESSEX.

Brother Silvester Romanis of Florence.
Church of Writelee . . . . . £100 sterling

Brother Peter de Brenoz, Canonicus regularis Gilben. dioc. in Com. Sebaudie, occupies the Church of Coruncam . . . 100 marks ster.

Sir Everard Hoprust.
Rector of Church of Stanford Ryvers . 40 marks ster.

Sir Peter de Sudrya.
Rector of the Church of Raurith . . 20 marks ster.

Sir Thomas of Burgo, in Ireland.
Occupies the Vicarage of Suthbenflet . 12 marks ster.

COLCHESTER.

Brother Stephen de Caus, monk of the Abbey of St. Audoenus Rothomagensis Prior datiuus de Mersey occupies the Church of that place, worth per annum . . 20 marks ster. to farm
The said Prior occupies the Church of Fingringho. . . . 15 marks ster. to farm
The said Prior is lord of the manors of Fingringho, Westmersey and Peet, worth to farm with the arable lands, rents of free tenants and natives and other profits to the said manors belonging . . . . . £100 ster. p. a.

The Prior of Romeliye (?) occupies the Church of Coggeshall . . . 40 marks per ann. to farm

Brother Roger de Ware Comonachus of Thetford, of the order of Cluny, Prior dativus of Parva Horkesleigh, occupies the Church of the same place, worth per annum to farm . . . . . £10 sterling
The said Brother Roger de Ware.
Church of Boxsted . . 22 marks ster. p. a.
The said Prior has a certain portion in the Church of Fordham . . 1 mark ster. p. a.
The said Prior has a certain manor in the town of Parva Horkesleigh united and annexed to his said Church, with arable lands, rents, and other commodities, worth per annum . . . 20 marks ster.

The Prior of Lewes has one annual pension in the Church of Colne Alba . . . . . 12 *s.* sterling

The said Prior takes a yearly pension in the Church of Assyngdon . . . 100 *s.* ster.
The said Prior takes yearly in the Church of Manneweden . . . 2 marks ster.

The Prior of Thefford is Rector of the Church of Alba Nottelee, worth to farm . . 30 marks p. a.

The Prior of Pritewell.
Rector of the Church of Clavering, worth to farm . . . . . 40 marks ster.
The said Prior takes yearly in the Church of Eastmersey a pension of . 6 marks ster.
The said Prior takes yearly in the Church of Magna Horkesleigh . . . 20 *s.* sterling
The said Prior takes yearly in the Church of Bumsted Helyon a pension of . 6 marks ster.

The Prior of Stanesgate, of the Order of Cluny, takes yearly a certain portion in the Church of Messing, worth to farm . . 9 *s.* sterling

The Prior of Stoke Clare occupies the Church of Berdefeld Magna, worth to farm per annum with the temporalities thereto annexed . . . . . £40 sterling
The said Prior has one portion in the Church of Sampford Parva, worth per annum to farm . . . . . 40 *s.* sterling

The Prior of Russhelep takes one portion in the said Church of Sampford Parva, worth per annum to farm . . . . . 1 mark ster.

The Prior of Hurlee has one portion in the Church of Walden, and another in the Church of Arkesden . . . . 100 *s.* ster. p. a.

The Prior of Stoke has temporalities in the town of Berdefeld Parva to the same annexed . . . . . 50 *s.* sterling

The Prior of St. Faith in Horsham has one portion of the tithes in the Church of Colne Engayne worth per annum . . . . 40 *s.* sterling

The said Prior has there the temporalities 'sibi annexa' worth per annum . 2 *s.* sterling

The Prior Sancti Walerici in Takeleye has the temporalities there 'sibi annexa' and also in the towns of Stanstead Montffichet, Wydyton, Bilchangre and Manewedon, worth to farm per annum. . . . . £60 sterling

Sir John Jop is Rector of the Church of Fairsted, worth per annum to farm . . 20 marks ster.

[*This document is almost illegible in places.*]

LINCOLN.

35
6*b*

Archdeaconry of Lincoln.

Master Laurence de Nigris.

Prebendary of Welton Bekhall . . 7 marks

The Archdeaconry of Stowe.

The Cardinal of Agrifolio (?).

Prebendary of Coryngham, together with a portion of St. Mary de Stowe to the said prebend annexed £165

Sir John, Vicar of Coryngham, Sir Robert, Rector of Ketilthorp, and William Thurley, occupy the same.

Archdeaconry of Leicester.

Francis, Cardinal of Ursinis, is Archdeacon of Leicester . . . . . 148 marks

Sir Walter, Rector of the Church of Gudumidle (?) occupies same.

Archdeaconry of Northampton.

Sir John ffrensshman.

Rector of two parts of the Church of Bodyngdon . . . . . 20 marks

Sir Anglicus Episcopus Alban Cardinal.
Prebendary of Sutton . . . . . 400 marks
Roger Skiret of Buckingham and William Bedeford of Sutton occupy the same.

Bertrandus Cardinal Glandaton.
Prebendary of Nassyngton . . . . 300 marks
Robert de Nassynton and John, son of Robert de Abthorp, occupy the same (viz. farm it for the Cardinal).

ARCHDEACONRY OF OXFORD.

Cardinal Neumacen (?)
Rector of Church of Adderbury . . £100
Adam Robelyn, clerk, occupies same.

Hugh Cardinal sc̃i Marcial.
Prebend of Thame . . . . . 240 marks
John Hayward of Thame, layman, occupies same.

Sir Raymond Pelryn.
Prebend of Milton in lay-fee . . . . 100 marks
The said Sir Raymond occupied the same.

A Cardinal whose name does not appear is
Prebendary of Milton Church . . . . 120 marks
Sir Raymond Pelryn occupies the same.

ARCHDEACONRY OF HUNTINGDON.

A Cardinal whose name does not appear is
Prebend of Brampton £40

ARCHDEACONRY OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sir Peter de Yuer (?) Cardinal.
Prebend of Aillesbury . . . . . 80 marks
Elias Duse de Eillesbury occupies same.

11/1a

CHICHESTER.

John de Bona Aura occupies in the Cathedral Church of Chichester the Prebend of Erlyngton, in the Archdeaconry of Lewes

in Co. Sussex, with a portion of Wedehorne to the said Prebend annexed . . £20 per ann.

The Abbot of Grestena occupies in the said Church the Prebend of Wilmyngton to his Abbey annexed in the said Archdeaconry and County £50

Sir John, Prior of Boxgrave, holds

Church of Boxgrave	40 marks
„ „ Hamptonet	12 „
„ „ Mundham	15 „
„ „ Hunstan	8 „
„ „ Bernham	15 „
„ „ Walburton	18 „

The said Prior occupies all these Churches.

Sir John Mercer, Prior of the Priory of St. Nicholas of Arondell, has the

Church of Arondell	12 marks
„ „ Rustington	30 „
„ „ Hampton	10 „
„ „ Yabiton	15 „
„ „ Byllyngeshurst	15 „

The said Prior has the

Church of Curdeford	25 „
„ „ Cockyng	10 „

The said Prior occupies all these Churches.

The Abbot of Fescamp has the

Church of West Angmering	25 marks
„ „ Stenyng	30 „

Brother Philip Ranulphi comonachus and proctor of the said Abbey occupies the said Churches.

Lady Katherine de Lyle Prioress of Leuemynster has the

Church of Leuemynster and Warnykampe	25 marks
„ „ Clympyng	30 „
„ „ Palyng	100 *s.*

The Prior of Sela has the

Church of Wassynton	25	marks
„ „ Sela	20	„
„ „ Nova Shorham	15	„

Brother Nicholas, monk of the Priory of Sela, occupies the same.

Sir John Prior of Lewes has

Church of Grenestede	80	marks
„ „ Kengeston	22	„
„ „ Cokefeld	22	„
„ „ Pedyngho	44	„
„ „ Ford	18	„

The said Prior has the

Church of Brighthalmeston	30	„
„ „ Rottyngden	20	„
„ „ Falemer-with-Burghemer	20	„

The said Prior occupies all these Churches.

$\frac{1}{4a}$ ST. ASAPH. Nil.

Section V.

TABLE SHOWING THE CHANGE OF PERSONNEL OF THE COUNTY MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TEMP. R. II.

TABLE SHOWING THE CHANGE OF PERSONNEL OF THE COUNTY MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TEMP. R. II.

THIS Table is made out from the names of County Members given in the Return of Members, Blue Book for 1878, vol. i. Only the County Members' names are there recorded with sufficient completeness to afford a basis for calculation. The names of the Members are represented by letters in this table, to facilitate a bird's eye view of the change of personnel. Every member of the Good Parliament (the first in the Table) is called *a*. Every member of the next Parliament is called *b*, except those eight members who were previously elected for the Good Parliament, who continue to be called *a*. In the third Parliament in the Table (Oct. '77) all the members are *c*, who are not *a* or *b* by virtue of having sat in one of the two previous assemblies. And so all the way through. When there are two members of the same county, both known by the same letter, they are distinguished, whenever either reappears, by small numbers added above: *e.g.*—a^1 or b^2 can be distinguished from a^2 or b^1, each being a different member for the same county.

Peter de la Mare, the Speaker for the Good Parliament, is a^2 for Hereford. It will be observed that even so distinguished a Parliamentarian as De la Mare was by no means elected every time, even to those Parliaments which were not packed by John of Gaunt.

County of	Apr. 1376 a	Jan. 1377 b	Oct. 1377 c	Oct. 1378 d	Apr. 1379 e	Jan. 1380 f	Nov. 1380 g	Nov. 1381 h	May 1382 j	Oct. 1382 k	Feb. 1383 l	Oct. 1383 m	Apr. 1384 n	Nov. 1384 o
Bedford	a^1	b	a^2	d	e	f	f	b	f	f	f	d	e	e
	a^2	b	c	d	e	c	g	h	c	c	l	l	c	l
Berks	a^1	b^1	a^1	a^2	e^1	f	b^1	e^1	e^1	k	e^1	m	m	m
	a^2	b^2	a^2	b^2	e^2	f	e^2	h	j	k	l	m	n	o
Bucks	a^1	b^1	a^2	d	a^2	b^1	a^2	a	j	k	a^1	m	n	o
	a^2	b^2	c	c	c	f	c^1	h	c	c	c	c	c	c
Cambs.	a^1	b^1	c	a^2	e	a^2	g	h^1	h^1	k	k	a^2	b^1	o
	a^2	b^2	a^2	d	d	d	d	h^2	h^2	–	l	c	n	c
Cornwall	a^1	b	a^1	d	a^1	f	g	g	g	g	g	m	n	m
	a^2	b^2	c	a^2	e^2	a^2	d	h	j	j	l	b_2	n	o
Cumberland	a^1	b	c^1	d	e	c^1	d	a^1	j	d	d	m	n	o
	a^2	b	c^2	d	e	f	g	b^1	j	k	l	b^2	n	o
Derby	a	b	c^1	d^1	c^1	f^1	d^1	f^1	f^1	k	f^1	e	n	k
	a	b	c^2	d	e	f^2	g	c^2	j	e	g	g	n	o
Devon	a^1	b	c	a^1	a^1	a^2	a^2	a^2	a^2	a^2	l	m	a^2	m
	a^2	b	c	a^2	a^2	f	f	h	h	k	l	m	h	h
Dorset	a^1	a^1	c	d	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	e^1
	a^2	a^2	c	d	e^2	f	e^2	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
Essex	a^1	b^1	a^1	d^1	a^1	f^1	f^1	h	j	a^1	f^1	a^1	n	a^1
	a^2	b^2	b^2	d^2	b^1	f^2	a^1	h	d^2	b^1	j^1	d^2	n	b^1
Gloucester	a^1	b^1	a^1	b^1	b^2	a^1	g	a^1	a^1	k^1	k^1	k^1	b^2	o
	a^2	b^2	c	b^2	a^2	f	g^2	b^1	b^1	k	l	l	g^2	g^2
Hereford	a^1	a^1	c	a^1	e	a^2	a^2	e	e	e	a^1	e	n	a^1
	a^2	b	a^2	c	c	c	a^1	h	a^2	a^2	a^2	m	n	o
Hertford	a^1	b	c	d	b	b	b	b	d	d	l	l	n	d
	a^2	a^2	c^2	c^2	a^2	a^2	c^2	h	j	j	a^2	a^2	n	a^2
Huntingdon	a^1	b^1	c^1	d^1	e^1	e^1	d^1	e^1	e^1	e^1	d^2	d^1	d^1	o
	a^2	b	c^2	d^2	e^2	a^2	e^2	c^1	j	k	a^2	d^2	d^2	b^2
Kent	a^1	b^1	c^1	a^1	b^1	f	a^1	a^1	j	j	a^1	j	n	a^1
	a^2	b	c^2	d	e	f^2	g	c	a^2	d	c^2	a^1	f^2	a^2
Lancaster	a^1	a^1	a^1	a^1	e	f	a^1	h	a^2	k	l	m	n	e^2
	a^2	b	c	d	e^2	f	g	e^2	j	e^2	e^2	m	b	o
Leicester	a^1	a^1	a^1	d^1	e^1	f^1	e^1	a^1	a^1	k	e^1	m	d^1	e^1
	a^2	a^2	a^2	d	e^2	f	g	e^1	e^1	e^2	f^1	a^2	a^2	f^1
Lincoln	a	b^1	c	d	e	a^2	g	h^1	h^1	h^2	l	m	m	h
	a^2	b^2	b^2	b^2	b^2	f	–	h^2	j	g	l	d	d	d
Middlesex	a^1	b^1	c^1	d^1	e	b^1	g	a^1	j	k	l^1	c^1	b^1	l^1
	a	b	c	d	e	a^1	g	h	j	k^2	l	d^1	k^2	h

OF COMMONS

County of	Apr. 1376 a	Jan. 1377 b	Oct. 1377 c	Oct. 1378 d	Apr. 1379 e	Jan. 1380 f	Nov. 1380 g	Nov. 1381 h	May 1382 j	Oct. 1382 k	Feb. 1383 l	Oct. 1383 m	Apr. 1384 n	Nov. 1384 o
Norfolk	a^1	b^1	b^1	d	e	f	e	h	h	b^2	b^2	b^2	e	b
	a	b^2	c	d	a^1	b^2	a^1	b^2	b^2	f	f^2	m	n	n
Northampton	a^1	b	a^1	b^1	a^1	f	a^1	h^1	h^1	b^2	b^2	b^2	f^2	f^2
	a	b^2	b^2	d	e	f^2	g	h^2	h^2	f^2	f^2	m	n	n
Northumberland	a	b	a^2	d^1	e	f	g^1	g^1	h	k	l	m	n^1	o
	a^2	b	c	d	e	c	g^2	g^2	h^2	h^2	c	b^2	n^2	n^1
Nottingham	a^1	b^1	a^1	d	b^1	f^1	g	a^1	f^1	a^1	f^1	m	m	b^1
	a^2	b^2	b^1	b^1	b^2	f	g	h	h	a^2	a^2	h	n	o
Oxford	a	b^1	c	d	d	c	d	d	d	b^1	b^1	b^1	b^1	b^1
	a^2	b	a^2	a^2	a^2	f	g	h	h	k	g	g	n	k
Rutland	a	b	a^2	d^1	e	a	g	h	j	j	e	m	n	o
	a^2	b^2	–	d^2	b^2	d^1	d^2	a^2	d^2	k	d^2	g	n	d^2
Salop	a^1	b^1	a^1	d^1	d^1	f	g^1	b^1	b^1	g^1	l	l	g^2	o
	a^2	b	a^2	d^2	b^1	f	g^2	a^2	a^2	d^2	b^1	g^2	d^2	d^2
Somerset	a	b^1	c^1	c^1	e	f	a	h	h	k	l	k	d	k
	–	b	c	d	e	f	g	c^1	d	b^1	l	m	m	m
Southampton (Hants)	a	b	b^2	b^2	b^2	f	f	h^1	h^1	b^2	b^2	b^2	h^2	b^2
	a	b^2	c	d	c	b^2	g	h^2	h^2	h^2	d	m	n	d
Stafford	a	b^1	b^1	d	b^1	b^1	b^2	b^2	j	k	b^2	b^1	a^2	o
	a^2	b^2	c	d	a^2	f	g	h	c	k	a^2	m	f	g
Suffolk	a^1	b	a^1	a^1	e	f	g	a^1	a^1	a^1	a^1	a^1	f^2	a^2
	a^2	b^2	c	a^2	b^2	f^2	g	a^2	a^2	a^2	a^2	a^2	a^2	o
Surrey	a	b^1	b^1	d	e	f	g	d	a^2	a^2	a^2	d^2	f^2	f^2
	a^2	b	c	d^2	e	f^2	g	a^2	d	k	l	k	k	o
Sussex	a	b^1	c^1	d^1	c^1	c^1	g	d^1	d^1	d^1	c^1	c^1	e	e
	a	b^2	c	d	e	e	e	e	e	g	g	b^1	n	c^1
Warwick	a^1	a^1	c	a^1	e	f	a^1	h	h	a^1	a^1	a^1	h	g
	a	b	c	b	b	f	g	g	j	k	l	m	j	o
Westmoreland	a	b^1	c^1	c^1	c^1	b^2	g	e^2	j	c^1	b^1	m^1	n	g
	a^2	b^2	c^2	b^2	b^2	f	a^2	f	j	k	l	m^2	m^2	o
Wilts	a^1	b^1	c	d^1	d^1	f	a^2	d^1	d^1	d^1	l	a^2	l	o
	a^2	b^2	a^2	d	b^2	b^2	b^2	h	h	h	h	b^2	b^2	o
Worcester	a	b^1	a^2	d^1	d^2	a^1	a^1	h	a^2	h^2	l^1	m	l^1	d^1
	a^2	b^2	b^2	d^2	e	b^1	b^1	h^2	h^2	k	l	m	n	n
York	a	b^1	b^1	d^1	e^1	d^1	b^1	b^1	b^1	k^1	j	b^1	k^1	k^1
	a	b	c	d	e^2	c	e^2	e^1	j	k	l	e^2	e^1	l

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